

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

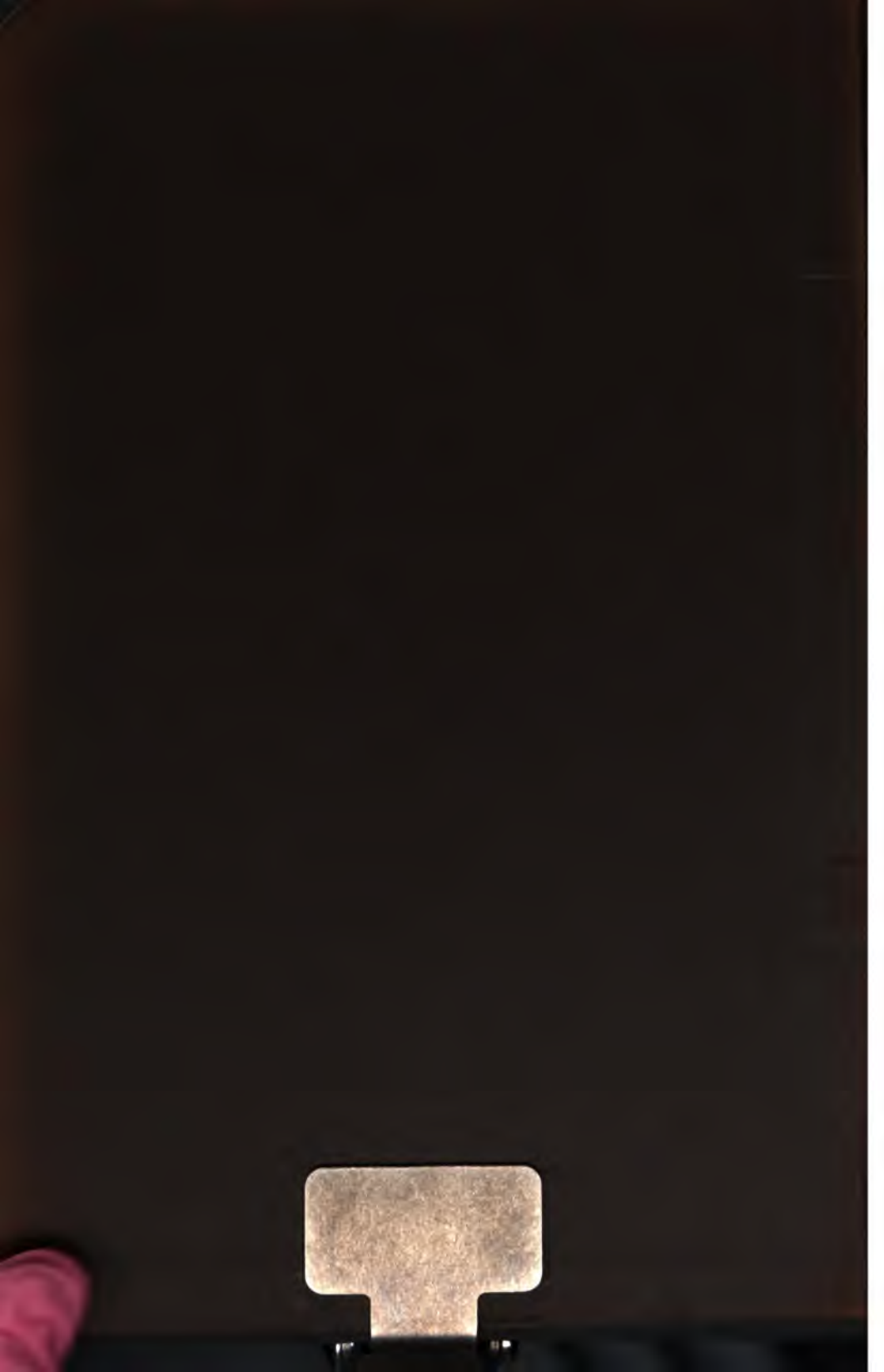
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

THE GREEK ORIGIN
OF THE
APOSTLES CREED




600015096R

1350 d. 8.


Α
ω


ASCENSIO
DNI
MA
RIA
VIRI
GALILEI

THE WALK [illegible]

THE APOSTLES C[illegible]

600015096R

1350 d. 8.

THE GREEK ORIGIN

OF

THE APOSTLES' CREED.



THE GREEK ORIGIN

OF

THE APOSTLES' CREED

ILLUSTRATED BY ANCIENT DOCUMENTS

AND RECENT RESEARCH.

BY

REV. JOHN BARON, D.D., F.S.A.

Ἵνα ὦσιν ἓν.—*S. John* xvii. 22.

Parker and Co.
OXFORD, AND 6 SOUTHAMPTON-STREET,
STRAND, LONDON.
1885.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY
28DEC85
OXFORD.



PREFACE.

IN 1881 I read before a Clerical Meeting of the district of Warminster a Paper on the Critical History of the Apostles' Creed, and soon afterwards, by invitation, I read the same Paper before a Clerical Meeting at Salisbury. It was there suggested that I should elaborate it into further detail, and publish it. I have been induced to carry out this suggestion, partly from a growing interest in the subject, and partly from the feeling that my previous studies in Anglo-Saxon, Antiquities, and the Services of the Greek Church, would enable me to treat the subject more readily and fully than could be done by a theologian without these qualifications and with little leisure. The result is the following Treatise. I am desirous that it should not be regarded as a compendious minimum, or an attempt to epitomise such valuable books as Prof. Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica*, or Prof. Lumby "On the Creeds."

Prof. Heurtley has shewn that there is a harmony of Creeds, notwithstanding diversity of expression. I go a step further and shew that the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds are identical, the Nicene Creed being formed on the same lines and in the same framework as the original Apostles' Creed, both consisting of twelve articles. In upholding the Creed of Markellus as the Greek text of the original Apostles' Creed I follow Caspari, the Norwegian professor, who has spent many years of research in the chief libraries of Europe respecting Baptismal Creeds and their sources. His work is written in German, and is not easily obtainable in this country.

The MS. Galba A. xviii., in the British Museum, having belonged to Athelstan, King of Wessex, who died in 940, has usually been classed as an Anglo-Saxon MS., but it is not so, it is certainly a German MS., presented by Otho the Great to his brother-in-law, King Athelstan. A glance at the Frontispiece and the Caroline Minuscules of Autotype Plates I. and II. will shew that the pictorial art and caligraphy of the Psalter of King Athelstan are very far in advance of any MS.

executed in England at that date. With regard to the "Anglo-Saxon" characters in the transliterated Greek passages on Autotype Plates III. and IV., I should feel reluctant to advance an opinion at variance with that of the learned keepers of MSS. in the British Museum, but my own opinion is that, although these passages may have been added in England, it is much more probable that they were written in Saxony, of which country Otho was Duke before he became Emperor. The intercourse between Saxony in Germany and Saxony in England was at that time both constant and cordial, and the languages of the two countries were much less divergent than English and German now are. At the present day the old Saxon poem "Heliand" is easily intelligible to an Anglo-Saxon scholar. The Anglo-Saxon alphabet is a delusion which is now generally discarded in printing Anglo-Saxon documents, unless they are intended to be facsimiles; the only two letters of any special value are Ð, ð, *dh*, which is identical with the Delta of living Greek, and Þ, þ, *th*, the Greek Theta, compare below, p. 11, and these are the two letters which are missing in the trans-

literated Greek documents on Autotype Plates III. and IV.

"The Anglo-Saxons acquired the art of writing partly from the Roman Missionaries and partly from the Irish. Hence the Anglo-Saxon script exhibits a combination of the two great caligraphic schools, the Irish and the Roman. One style originally prevailed in Wessex and Kent, the other in Mercia and Northumberland. Of the Southern school an early example is 'S. Augustine's Psalter,' now in the British Museum, which is proved by the style of ornament to have been written in England, but in an alphabet almost identical with that of 'S. Augustine's Gospels' at Cambridge, which were undoubtedly written on the Continent[a]."

I feel deep gratitude to the community of the Orthodox Greek Church in London for having been allowed at intervals during the last sixteen years to attend their Services, formerly in London Wall, and recently at the new church of S. Sophia, Moscow-road, Bayswater; also to the Archimandrites and Readers, past and present, for many kind and courteous explanations. On one occasion, in 1869, after having been present during the Orthros and Liturgy, I was kindly invited to remain and witness

[a] "The Alphabet," by Isaac Taylor, M.A., LL.D., vol. ii. p. 179. London, Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1883.

the Baptism of an infant. I was much interested by seeing in actual performance some details of ritual of which I had read in the *Ritus Baptisandi* of Sarum and elsewhere, but the point which seemed most instructive to me was the recitation of the Nicene Creed by the Reader as part of the Baptismal Service. Upon enquiring afterwards the reason of this, I was told that the Nicene Creed ought properly to have been recited by the Ἀνάδοχος, *susceptor*, or *sponsor*, but he being in this case an illiterate man, unable to recite the Nicene Creed, it was recited for him by the Reader. This led me to study minutely the Greek text of the Nicene Creed, and I was so much struck with its beauty and exactness of expression that without much effort I learnt it by heart, as recited in the Service of the Greek Church. After I had committed it to memory, my kind friends the Archimandrite and the Reader allowed me to recite it to them severally in private interviews, and corrected faults of pronunciation and accent. The result is that I retain the Greek text perfectly in memory, and frequently recite it in private devotions, although I am not able to repeat without book either the Latin or English translations.

To master Modern Greek so as to be able to write and converse correctly in the language is doubtless a formidable undertaking, though well worth the time and trouble for any one who has a prospect of visiting Greece, the Levant, Constantinople, or Asia Minor, but to acquire the living pronunciation sufficiently to follow the Greek Services with intelligent devotion is comparatively easy for any one who has an average acquaintance with Classical Greek. I found three lessons from a good teacher of modern Greek sufficient, together with the privilege of being permitted to attend the Greek Services under proper guidance. I am informed that many who have learnt Classical Greek at school and college find two lessons sufficient. Whatever may become of the pronunciation of Greek in English schools and colleges, it is quite certain that every accomplished Greek scholar ought to have some acquaintance with Modern Greek and the living pronunciation, after the example of Bishop Wordsworth, of Lincoln, and many others [b].

[b] A very attractive and useful little book on this subject is, "A Handbook to Modern Greek, by Edgar Vincent, Coldstream Guards, and T. G. Dickson, with a Preface by Professor J. S. Blackie." London, Macmillan and Co., 1879.

My best thanks are due to the TRUSTEES of the British Museum for permitting me to have four Autotype Facsimile Plates from the pages of the Psalter of King Athelstan, one of the most precious and interesting MSS. in their keeping: also to Professor J. O. WESTWOOD, of Oxford, for permission to copy two of his Facsimiles of the pictures in the same MS.: and to E. M. THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A., of the British Museum, for kind assistance in consultation respecting the MS.

For permission to use two Plates, 8ª and 90ª, of the Facsimile Utrecht Psalter, I am indebted to the Palaeographic Society, to which I have the honour to belong.

JOHN BARON.

THE RECTORY,
UPTON-SCUDAMORE,
Ascension Day, 1885.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

ASCENSION, &c., FROM PSALTER OF KING ATHELSTAN
Frontispiece

AUTOTYPE PLATES FROM PSALTER OF KING ATHELSTAN.

I. and II. Lord's Prayer, &c., in Caroline Minuscules p. 8
III. and IV. Transliterated Greek . . . p. 16

AUTOTYPE PLATES FROM UTRECHT PSALTER.

Folded Plate I. Illustrations of Psalms xiv. and xv. Vulgate; xv. and xvi. English Version . . p. 64
Folded Plate II. Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed *ib.*

CONTENTS.

PAGE

PREFACE iii

CHAPTER I.

The antithetical terms Eastern and Western sometimes convenient but often delusive.—The Eighth Article of Religion.—Ludolphus of Saxony.—The Greek Text of a Creed in Anglo-Saxon Letters preserved in the Psalter of King Athelstan.—Greek studied as a Living Language by some few in England in Seventh and Eighth Centuries.—Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury.—Bishop Aldhelm.—The Psalter of King Athelstan is a German MS.—Caroline Minuscules.—Henry the Fowler.—Otho the Great.—Edith of England 1

CHAPTER II.

Autotype Plates I. and II. Caroline Minuscules.—Autotype Plates III. and IV. transliterated Greek.—Prayer for Divine Grace.—Coincidence of Anglo-Saxon and living Greek pronunciation.—Contents of the Manuscript Galba A. xviii.—"The Greek Litany."—The Lord's Prayer.—Rudimentary Apostles' Creed.—Trisagion.—The Greek passages intended for private and monastic use.—Greek the language of early Christianity, even in Rome.—The Creed of Markellus as given in Epiphanius.—The transliterated Greek Creed of the Psalter of King Athelstan scrutinised in detail.—Sounds of delta and theta accepted in English but not in German.—Creed of S. Augustine.—Vindication of Markellus 8

CHAPTER III.

PAGE

Some chief points in the History of the Apostles' Creed. —Distinction between Baptismal Creed and Rule of Faith, &c., convenient if not overstrained.— Early tradition against writing down the Creed.—The Creeds of Markellus and of Nicaea compared.—Durandus on the Creed.—The Apostles' Creed in the East superseded by the Nicene.—Elaborations of the Apostles' Creed in the West.—All three Creeds settled and received by A.D. 800.—Keltic Liturgy.—Gallican Liturgy. —Conclusion from S. Irenaeus . . . 37

APPENDIX A.

The Greek Scholarship of S. Aldhelm . . . 57
The Literary Attainments of Charlemagne . . 58
On the elaborations of the Apostles' Creed in the West 59

APPENDIX B.

German and Anglo-Saxon Versions of the Apostles' Creed 81

APPENDIX C.

The Greek Text of the Nicene Creed transliterated . 85

CHIEF AUTHORS QUOTED.

Biographies of S. Epiphanius, Lord King, Durandus . 87

INDEX 93

Illustrations from Manuscript Galba A. xviii., in the British Museum, commonly called The Psalter of King Athelstan, and from the Utrecht Psalter.

FRONTISPIECE.

THESE two pictures are copied from the *Palaeographia Sacra* of Professor Westwood, with his kind permission. The lower picture, which the Professor states to be entirely Byzantine in its treatment, occupies the 120th leaf of the MS., and represents the Ascension. It is thus described by Professor Westwood:—

"Here the Saviour, very young in appearance, with long flowing hair and naked feet, the head surrounded by a cruciferous nimbus, is seated on a cushion within an oval space, supported by two Angels, half hidden by clouds, who direct the attention of the 'VIRI *galilei*' and 'Maria' to the rising Saviour. The Virgin here occupies the centre of the group, separated from her companions by neatly-drawn plants."

The upper picture is the centre of a picture uniform in size with the Ascension given in the Facsimiles, and is there described as follows:—

"The other drawing of the Saviour seated in glory, within an oval pointed 'Vesica piscis,' occupies the 21st leaf. Here our Lord holds the Cross in His left hand, with naked feet, and with His dress opened to shew the wound in His side. He has a cruciferous nimbus and long flowing grey hair, but without any beard. His right hand is open, and extended upwards: on either side are the letters A and Ω. The Saviour is surrounded by a great number of heads, representing the choruses of Martyrs and Confessors: many of the former are tonsured; and two groups of female busts, representing the 'Chorus Virginum.' The angles are filled

in with four Angels; whilst the upper angles of the frame terminate in heads, and the lower in conventional foliage."

These descriptions are from the later and larger work, "Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Ornaments of the Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts," by J. O. Westwood, M.A. London, Quaritch, 1868. The *Palaeographia* was published in 1845.

Autotype Plates I. and II., III. and IV.

These are facsimiles from MS. Galba A. xviii., taken expressly for this treatise by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Plates I. and II. contain the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and part of the Athanasian Creed in Caroline Minuscules. Plates III. and IV. contain the transliterated Greek passages, viz. a Litany, Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, Trisagion. The title "Hic incipiunt Grecorum Letanie" is on the previous page of the MS., and therefore does not appear on Plate III.

Autotype Plates from Utrecht Psalter.

The two quarto folded Plates, p. 64, are taken by the kind permission of the Palaeographic Society, from their Facsimile Utrecht Psalter, published in 1875.

The first of these Autotypes, numbered 8ª in the Facsimile volume, contains as follows:—

Part of the last verse of the preceding Psalm, xiii. 7, Vulgate, in Roman rustic capitals, viz.

"[Cùm aver]terit Dominus captivitatem plebis suae, exultabit Jacob, & laetabitur Israel."

A picture illustrating Psalm xiv. Vulgate, xv. English Version, Rest upon the holy hill; a hand extended from heaven in token of blessing and protection; swearing at the altar; the centre group, perhaps, indicates the malignant brought to nought, and the receiving back of money without usury; the group of four old cripples to the right, perhaps, is meant for the oppressed poor, and the figure standing by the oleander-tree is the just man who abstains from the enormities mentioned.

The following is the text of this Psalm, with the verses numbered for reference:—

"xiiii Psalmus David.

"1. Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo? Aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo?

"2. Qui ingreditur sine macula, et operatur justitiam:

"3. Qui loquitur veritatem in corde suo, qui non egit dolum in lingua sua:

"Nec fecit proximo suo malum, et opprobrium non accepit adversus proximos suos.

"4. Ad nihilum deductus est in conspectu ejus malignus; timentes autem Dominum glorificat:

"5. Qui jurat proximo, et non decipit, qui pecuniam suam non dedit ad usuram, et munera super innocentem non accepit.

"Qui facit haec non movebitur in aeternum."

The above is the text of the Vulgate with which the Utrecht Psalter here agrees exactly, except that in the fifth verse it has "decepit." The Gallic Psalter agrees with the Vulgate in having "decipit"[a].

The following is the Vulgate text of the next Psalm, 8[b] of the Facsimile volume of the Utrecht Psalter, with the verses numbered for reference. The picture on the folding Plate is fully explained in Appendix A.

"Psalmus XV.

"1, 2. Conserva me, Domine, quoniam speravi in te. Dixi Domino: Deus meus es tu, quoniam bonorum meorum non eges.

"3. Sanctis, qui sunt in terra ejus, mirificavit omnes voluntates meas in eis.

"4. Multiplicatae sunt infirmitates eorum posteà acceleraverunt.

"Non congregabo conventicula eorum de sanguinibus: nec memor ero nominum eorum per labia mea.

[a] Cf. Roman and Gallic versions, Op. S. Hieronymi, vol. i. p. 1235, Benedictine edition.

"5. Dominus pars haereditatis meae, et calicis mei : tu es, qui restitues haereditatem meam mihi.

"6. Funes ceciderunt mihi in praeclaris : etenim haereditas mea praeclara est mihi.

"7. Benedicam Dominum, qui tribuit mihi intellectum : insuper et usque ad noctem increpuerunt me renes mei.

"8. Providebam Dominum in conspectu meo semper : quoniam à dextris est mihi, ne commovear.

"9. Propter hoc laetatum est cor meum, et exultavit lingua mea : insuper et caro mea requiescet in spe.

"10. Quoniam non derelinques animam in inferno : nec dabis Sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.

"Notas mihi fecisti vias vitae, adimplebis me laetitia cum vultu tuo : delectationes in dextera tua usque in finem."

In this psalm the Utrecht Psalter agrees with the Roman Vulgate as above, but follows the Gallican Psalter in the order of the words, "mihi tribuit." The scribe has made one fault in writing "ad dexteris" instead of "a dexteris." This psalm has no heading in the Utrecht Psalter, but the first line is in Uncials, and the remainder in Roman rustic capitals.

The second of the folded Autotypes contains as follows :—

The concluding words of the *Gloria in Excelsis* continued from the preceding page, viz.

"Qui sedes ad dexteram patris misere nobis quum tu solus sanctus tu solus dominus tu solus altissimus Jesus Christe cum sancto spiritu in gloria Dei patris. Amen."

A picture of Christ teaching His twelve disciples to pray.

"Oratio Dominica secundum Matheum."

As usual in the Utrecht Psalter, the heading and first line are in Uncials, and the remainder of the text in Roman rustic capitals.

This copy of the Lord's Prayer agrees exactly with that given in Caroline Minuscules on Autotype Plate I., from the Psalter of King Athelstan, even to the spelling of the words "cotidianum" and "temptationem."

An elaborate picture illustrating the Apostles' Creed, fully

described below, Appendix A, p. 73. The text, with the exception of a slight fault of the scribe in writing "virginae," agrees exactly with the Apostles' Creed in Caroline Minuscules on Autotype Plate I. The concluding words, "peccatorum carnis resurrectionem vitam aeternam Amen," are on the next page of the Utrecht Psalter, and therefore do not appear on this Plate.

The following is the text of the Apostles' Creed received in the Latin Church. It will be found to agree exactly with the text of the same Creed given in the Psalter of King Athelstan and in the Utrecht Psalter, except that it has "descendit ad inferos" (sc. homines) instead of "descendit ad inferna" (sc. loca).

"Credo in Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem coeli et terrae; et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum: qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine; passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus; descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis; ascendit ad coelos; sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis; inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.

"Credo in Spiritum sanctum; sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam; Sanctorum communionem; remissionem peccatorum; carnis resurrectionem, vitam aeternam. Amen [b]."

[b] *Paroissien Romain, complet en Latin.* Paris, Le Clerc et C^ie, 1860. The version of the Apostles' Creed in the English Prayer-Book agrees with the above Latin text, except in the eleventh article, in which, since the Reformation, "body" has been substituted for "flesh." Respecting this change, see below at the end of Appendix B.

Ὑποτύπωσιν ἔχε ὑγιαινόντων λόγων, ὧν παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἤκουσας.—2 *Tim.* i. 13.

THE GREEK ORIGIN OF THE APOSTLES' CREED

ILLUSTRATED BY

ANCIENT DOCUMENTS AND RECENT RESEARCH.

CHAPTER I.

IT is not my intention to pass in review any of the great commentaries on the Apostles' Creed, nor to enter much into theological details, but to illustrate some points of its history, and to contend, with the help of historical documents, against the common antithetical statement that the Apostles' Creed is the Creed of the West, and the Nicene of the East. I am prepared to maintain that historically the Apostles' Creed is as much a Creed of the East as of the West; and that the Nicene is both historically and by usage as much a Creed of the West as of the East; and that while there is the strictest admitted harmony between these two equally catholic creeds, the Apostles' is not an abbreviation of the Nicene, but the Nicene is evidently an amplification of the Apostles' Creed, which is itself an amplification, expansion, development of still earlier forms, which were little more than the shortest possible declarations of faith evolved from the Baptismal Formula ordained by our

Lord Himself: "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." (S. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.)

Πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς το ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν.

The names Eastern and Western Creeds much in fashion with critical writers, though sometimes convenient are often delusive. If a Creed begins with "I believe in one God," critics immediately say it belongs to the Nicene type, whereas Lord King[a] shews conclusively that Creeds of the so-called Apostles' type at an early period, when it was needful to testify against polytheism, often began with this so-called Nicene phrase. Again, if a Creed begins "We believe," *πιστεύομεν*, critics say the plural number is a Nicene characteristic. This is purely a mistake from want of acquaintance with actual Greek services. The Nicene Creed, as a solemn declaration of faith by the 318 bishops assembled from all parts of the world, and recited at the Council, began *πιστεύομεν*, but in the services of the Greek Church the Nicene Creed always begins *πιστεύω*, in the singular. Although, therefore, we may occasionally for convenience' sake speak of a

[a] Lord King, "Hist. of Apostles' Creed," pp. 54, 55. London, 1702.

creed as Eastern, or Western, or Northern, or Southern, or Central, I think we ought to be on our guard against becoming too much habituated to such phrases or countenancing their use. The three Creeds, as faithful declarations of the one faith once delivered to the saints, and enshrining the mysteries of Creating, Redeeming, and Sanctifying Love, do not belong to any one of the points of the compass, but to the whole world, being truly catholic—

> "The glorious sky embracing all
> Is like the Maker's love[b],
> Wherewith encompassed great and small
> In peace and order move."
> (Keble, *Christian Year, Septuagesima.*)

Long may the Reformed Church of England maintain, as in the eighth Article of Religion—

"The Three Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius's Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture."

Ludolphus of Saxony, A.D. 1330, says,

"The Apostles' Creed was made for instruction in the faith; the Nicene for explanation of the faith; and the Creed of S. Athanasius for the defence of the faith[c]."

[b] Ps. xix.

[c] "Quæ vero fidelibus credenda sunt, ex symbolo haberi possunt. Est enim symbolum compendiosa collectio omnium ad salutem spectantium. Sunt autem tria symbola; primum, Apostolorum; secundum, Nicæni concilii; tertium, S. Athanasii. Primum factum est, ad fidei instructionem; secundum ad fidei explanationem; tertium ad fidei defensionem." (Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Jesu Christi*, cap. lxxxiii. vol. iv. p. 261. Paris, 1878.)

Antiquaries are naturally much interested in historical documents, which by careful study may bring to light new points of history, or confirm and illustrate points already known. "Documentum est quod docet; monumentum quod monet;" and etymologically our good English word *token*, in Anglo-Saxon 'tacen,' is what 'taecth' or *teacheth*.

Such a token is the Greek text of a creed in Anglo-Saxon letters preserved in the Psalter of King Athelstan, MS. Galba A. xviii. in the British Museum.

It was brought forward many years ago by Archbishop Ussher in illustration of the history of creeds, and has subsequently received much attention from theologians and antiquaries both in England and on the Continent. It was brought before an ordinary meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, London, at which I was present, in the summer of 1880, by Edwin Freshfield, Esq., F.S.A., with some interesting illustrations, and I afterwards looked somewhat minutely into the subject.

There is plenty of proof that Greek was thoroughly studied as a living language by some few in England in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Theodore, a native like S. Paul of Tarsus in Cilicia, was twenty-two years Archbishop of Canterbury, from A.D. 668 to 690. He instituted a school of Greek in England, and Aldhelm, who was a student of this Greek school, and who was Bishop of Sherborn from A.D. 705 to 709,

was in early youth by the care of his kinsman, Ine, King of Wessex, further instructed not only in writing and understanding Greek, but in speaking it with a pure accent and pronunciation by two tutors obtained expressly from Athens.

But although we receive the MS. Galba A. xviii. from Anglo-Saxon keeping, it may be more properly called German than Anglo-Saxon[d]. It is believed to have belonged to the Emperor Otho the Great, and afterwards to have passed into the possession of his brother-in-law, our West Saxon King Athelstan, who had also other important connexions with Germany and France.

The palæography and artistic features of the volume are fully treated and illustrated by Professor Westwood, but the mixture of Anglo-Saxon and continental script, of Anglo-Saxon and Byzantine art, with the indications of close and friendly relations between the Greek and Latin Churches will make it interesting to note some points of contemporary history. It is said of Charlemagne, who died in 814, that he spoke the Latin language fluently, and understood Greek, but could not converse in it. His great ambition was to write well, but this object he never fully attained; for the hand which had been accustomed to wield the sword or the lance could not be rendered sufficiently pliable for the correct guidance of the pen; although it is said

[d] Compare Westwood, Facsimiles, pp. 96—98; also *Palæographia Sacra*, No. 22.

his writing materials were placed under his pillow, and many a sleepless night was passed in tracing the stubborn letters[e]. Nevertheless the great extension of his power, and his enthusiastic patronage of literature, gave rise to the formation of the beautiful script called by palæographers, Caroline Minuscules, of which the greater part of the Psalter of King Athelstan affords an admirable example. It was revived in the eleventh century, lived on in the Italic writing which prevailed on the Continent, and at length helped the English to substitute the modern running-hand for the complicated and difficult script of mediæval documents which prevailed till the time of King Henry VIII.[f] Et, either as a Latin conjunction, or as a syllable, is represented in these Caroline Minuscules by the sign still used in modern running-hand for *and* (&). Perhaps the curious names by which this sign has been known in modern days may be corruptions of 'Emperor's Et,' or 'Emperor's And.'

Henry the Fowler, king of the Germans, father of the Emperor Otho I., afterwards called the Great, was very religious as well as warlike, and was clearly not unacquainted with Greek.

"In the year 933, the Hungarians entered Germany with two armies, one of which was defeated by the Saxons near Sondershausen: the other was met by the king in person at Keuschberg, on the Saale. The Hungarians, who had learnt the defeat of their brethren,

[e] See Einhard, quoted in Appendix A. Cf. Markham, p. 53.

[f] Compare National Manuscripts.

made fire signals on the hills to draw the rest of their hordes together. Henry, having addressed his men in a spirited and encouraging harangue, unfolded before them the banner of the Archangel Michael, and charged the Hungarians with the cry of Kyrie eleison (Lord have mercy), which was echoed back by the fearful Hui! Hui! of the Barbarians. After a bloody conflict the whole army of the enemy was either slain or put to flight, and Henry falling on his knees with all his soldiers, offered up a solemn thanksgiving to the God of Battles. The anniversary of this victory is still celebrated in the village of Keuschberg.

"Three years after this battle (A.D. 936) Henry died at Memleben, in Thuringia, in his sixtieth year, leaving behind him three sons, the eldest of whom, Otho, had previously to his father's death been approved by the diet as his successor. As he lay on his death-bed, and felt his end approaching, the good old king called his wife to him and addressed her in these words: 'I thank Jesus Christ that I do not survive thee. Never had man a wife more faithful or of more assured piety. I am thankful that thou didst always moderate my wrath, give me good counsel, guide me in the path of justice, and teach me to have compassion on the oppressed. I now commend thee and our children, as well as my own departing spirit, to the Most High, the Almighty God, and to the prayers of His elect[8].'"

King Henry the Fowler had solicited the hand of a sister of Athelstan for his son Otho. Athelstan sent over two of his sisters to Cologne, Eadgyth (Edith), and Ælfgifu (Adive), attended by his chancellor, Thurcytel. Eadgyth became the beloved and excellent wife of Otho, A.D. 930,

[8] "History of Germany," Markham, pp. 65, 66. London, Murray, 1862.

and died in 947. Her sister was married to a prince and high official of the court. It seems probable that the Psalter in question was presented by Otho to Athelstan during the amenities of these matrimonial arrangements. Athelstan, after reigning gloriously for twenty years, died A.D. 940, and was buried with great pomp at Malmesbury [h].

Otho, like his father, was religious, warlike, and had much intercourse with the Greek Church and empire. At the battle of Augsburg, in 955, when he gained a great victory, he refused to engage the Hungarian hordes till the Holy Sacrament had been celebrated, and his whole army blessed by Bishop Ulric.

It is related that in the sixty-second year of his age the Emperor lost his old and attached friend Herman Billing, whom he had invested with his own dukedom of Saxony. From this stroke he never rallied, and died soon afterwards (on the 6th May, 973) so tranquilly, as he knelt before the altar in the church of Memleben, that the attendants who found him stretched on the pavement supposed at first that he was asleep. His body was brought to Magdeburg, and buried in the church of St. Maurice, by the side of his first wife (Eadgyth), Edith of England [i].

[h] "History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings." Lappenburg, ed. Thorpe, vol. ii. pp. 109, 110. London, Murray, 1845.

[i] Compare Markham's "Hist. of Germany," pp. 71—73. London, Murray, 1862.


ORATIO DOMINICA

PATER NOSTER QUI

incaelis sc̄i ficḃur nomen tuum.

Adueniat regnum tuum. Fiat uoluntas tua

sicut in caelo & in terra. Panem nr̄m cotidianū

da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nra

sicut & nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.

Et ne nos inducas in temptationē. Sed libera nos a malo

INCIPIT SYMBOLUM

CREDO IN DM PATRĒ

omnipotentem. creatorē caeli & terrae. Et in hūm

xp̄m filium eius unicum dn̄m nr̄m. qui conceptus e

de sp̄u sc̄o. natus ex maria uirgine. passus sub pon

tio pilato. crucifixus mortuus & sepultus. descen

dit ad inferna. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis

Ascendit ad caelum sedet ad dexterā dei patris

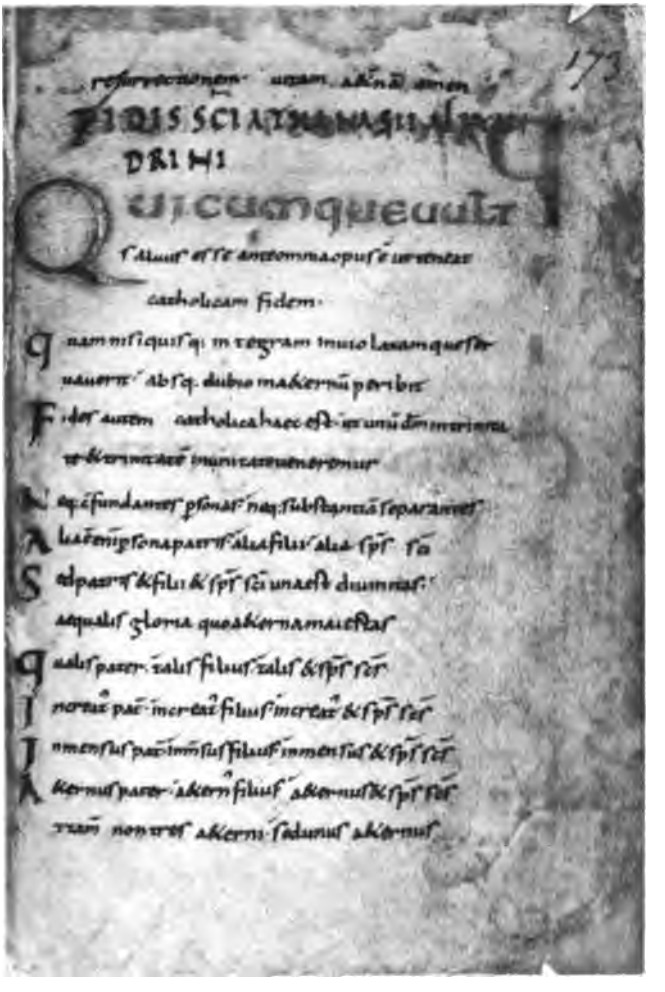
omnipotentis. Inde uenturus iudicare uiuos & mor

tuos. Credo in sp̄m sc̄m. sc̄am ecclesiā catholicā. sc̄oꝝ

communionem. remissionē peccatorum. carnis

I.

"Psalter of King Athelstan," fol. 172 b.



II.

"Psalter of King Athelstan," fol. 173.

CHAPTER II.

THE Autotype Plates, I. and II., require little explanation, the script being like a very neat running-hand of modern times, and the fount of type called italics. It will be seen that the Pater Noster ends as usual in the Latin Church without the Doxology, and the Credo is complete and verbatim, as used at the present day. Part of the Athanasian Creed is given on Plate II. as a further specimen of the script, because it comes on the same page as the conclusion of the Apostles' Creed. It is interesting to note that among the prayers which follow is one which is now specialised as an introduction to the Communion Service in the English Prayer-Book :—

"AD GRATIAM SANCTI SPIRITÛS POSTULANDUM.

"Deus cui omne cor patet et omnis voluntas loquitur et nullum latet secretum Purifica per infusionem Sancti Spiritûs cogitationes cordis nostri ut perfecte te diligere et digne laudare mereamur, per."—p. 174.

It is truly said that the Mediæval Psalters, which contained many other devotions besides the Psalms, were the predecessors of our English Prayer-Book for private use. The Nicene Creed does not occur in this or in the Utrecht Psalter,

because it was regarded as the Mass Creed, as it was expressly called in the Anglo-Saxon Church.

The Autotype Plates III. and IV. are worthy of the fullest attention, but require some little care as to the proper Anglo-Saxon pronunciation, which meets living Greek pronunciation half-way. There is a general consent of Anglo-Saxon scholars to pronounce *c* and *g* always hard, and to give the vowels somewhat of the Continental pronunciation.

The most convenient plan for the reader will probably be to give first the correct Greek: the transliteration will appear very strange to those who only know Greek as it is usually pronounced in English Schools and Colleges, but the following hints will help to make the transliteration intelligible.

Some points of the living Greek pronunciation. All the accents are observed:—

'*Ιωτακισμὸς*, Yotakismos prevails, e. g.

ει, *οι*, *υι*, *η*, *ι*, *υ* = ee, which is the living Greek sound of *ἰῶτα* as a vowel.

αι = ai in rain. *καὶ* = kay.

γ = yh.

ι, as a consonant = y. *ἰατρός* = yatross.

υ as a consonant = f. *αὐτός* = aftos, but between vowels, or next a liquid, it = v. *αὐλός* = avlos; *αὔριον* = avrion; *πιστεύω* = pistevo.

πνεῦμα = pĕnevma.

α = ah.

ε = ai in rain.

β = v. $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ = vassilefs.
Δ = dh, like th in there, those.
$o\upsilon$ = oo. $\tau o\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ = tooss.

Having minutely examined the manuscript at the British Museum, I do not discover anything distinctively Anglo-Saxon in the writing, and I note that the sounds of the Greek delta and theta are not expressed by their appropriate Anglo-Saxon signs, but theta is expressed by *th*, the digraph usual in Latin and English literature, and in several instances by simple *t*, as in present German, e.g. tausend for thousand.

The volume consists of three parts: 1st, the Calendar; 2nd, the Psalter; and 3rd, a series of short prayers, &c. All these are in Latin, but on the last leaf are the Romano-Greek passages, viz. a Litany, the Lord's Prayer (without the doxology), the Apostles' Creed in a rudimentary form, and some words of the Trisagion.

It is not easy to say how far these several portions of the volume accord or differ in date.

The Litany, though headed "+ Hic incipiunt grecorum letanie," consists only of some supplications selected from a Latin Litany at the Consecration of a Church in Archbishop Egbert's Pontifical[a], A.D. 732, translated into good Greek, but miserably transcribed in Anglo-Saxon letters.

[a] Pontifical of Egbert, Archbp. of York, pp. 27—30, Surtees Society, London, 1853. Compare also a Consecration Service from a Rouen Manuscript in *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi.

The following is the correct Greek intended by the transliteration :—

1. *Χριστὲ ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν.*
2. *Ἅγιε μιχαὴλ εὔξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.*
3. *Ἅγιε γαβριὴλ εὔξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.*
4. *Ἅγιε ῥαφαὴλ εὔξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.*
5. *Ἁγια μαρία εὔξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.*
6. *Ἅγιε πέτρε εὔξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.*
7. *Ἅγιε παῦλε εὔξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.* et rl.
8. *Πάντες ἅγιοι εὔξασθε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.*
9. *Ἵλεως γενοῦ καὶ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε.*
10. *Ἵλεως γενοῦ καὶ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε.*
11. *Ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε.*
12. *Διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ σου λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε.*
13. *Ἁμαρτωλοί σε παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν.*
14. *Ἵνα εἰρήνην δώσεις παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν.*
15. *Υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ σε παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν.*
16. *Ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.*

The following is the transliteration, Roman type being substituted for the Anglo-Saxon letters :—

Hic incipiunt Grecorum Letanie :

1. Xpe epacus onimon.
2. Aie Michael euxe yperimon.
3. Aie Gabriel euxe yperimon.
4. Aie Raphael euxe yperimon.
5. Aia Maria euxe yperimon.
6. Aie Petre euxe yperimon.
7. Aie Paule euxe yperimon, et rl.
8. Pantas yaies euxaste yperimon.
9. Ileos genuce rise ymas cyrie.
10. Ileos genuce lutrose ymas cyrie.
11. Apopantes cacu lutrose ymas cyrie.
12. Diatus taurusu lutrose ymas cyrie.
13. Amarthuluse paraca lumen epacus onimin.
14. Inagrinin dosisse paraca lumen epacus onimin.
15. Ygie tutheuse paraca lumen epacus onimin.
16. Ao amnos tutheu oerron tin amartias tu cosmu eleison imas [b].

[b] No. 16 appears to be a curious blundering of the fourth sentence in the Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις of the Greek Church, viz.

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου. (Cf. *Horologion*, pp. 70, 71, ed. Venice, 1864.)

The following are the original verses of the Latin Litany which have been selected in the Psalter of King Athelstan for translation into Greek, and transliteration :—

1. Christe audi nos.
5. Sancta Maria : ora.
2. Sancte Michael : ora.
3. Sancte Gabriel : ora.
4. Sancte Raphael : ora.
6. Sancte Petre : ora.
7. Sancte Paule : ora.
8. Omnes Sancti : orate.
9. Propitius esto : parce nobis, Domine.
10. Propitius esto : libera nos, Domine.
11. Ab omni malo : libera clementer.
12. Per cru✠cem tuam : libera clementer.
13. Peccatores, te rogamus audi nos.
14. Ut pacem nobis dones.
Te rogamus audi nos.
15. Fili Dei, te rogamus audi nos.
16. Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi : parce nobis, Domine[c].

[c] Pontifical of Egbert, Archbp. of York, pp. 27—30, Surtees Society, London, 1853. Compare also a Consecration Service from a Rouen Manuscript in *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi.

The identification of *Grecorum Letanie* with original Latin verses in the Consecration Service of Archbishop Egbert is a discovery of my own. I have not seen it noted elsewhere.

Then follows the Lord's Prayer in Greek, transliterated, as far as *ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*, and headed, "Hic incipit Pater Noster in Lingua Grecorum." In the present Greek service the Lord's Prayer is as follows :—

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομα σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον· καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν· καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. Ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

This may be approximately transliterated into the letters of the English alphabet, with their present powers to represent the living pronunciation in the Greek Service, as follows :—

"Páter eemôn o en teess ooraneêss, ayhiasthéeto to ónomássoo : elthéto ee vassileéa soo : yheneethéeto tothéleemássoo, ōss en ooranô kay epi teess yheess. Toṅ árton eemôn tòn epioóssion dhoss eemîn seémeron : kay áphes eemîn ta opheeleémata eemôn. ōss kay eemeês aphee emen teess opheelétess eemôn : kay mee eesenénkeess eemâss eess peerasmòn allà reêssay eemâss apo toô poneeroô."—

The transliterated Lord's Prayer given in Anglo-Saxon characters on Autotype Plates III. and IV. is in ordinary type as follows :—

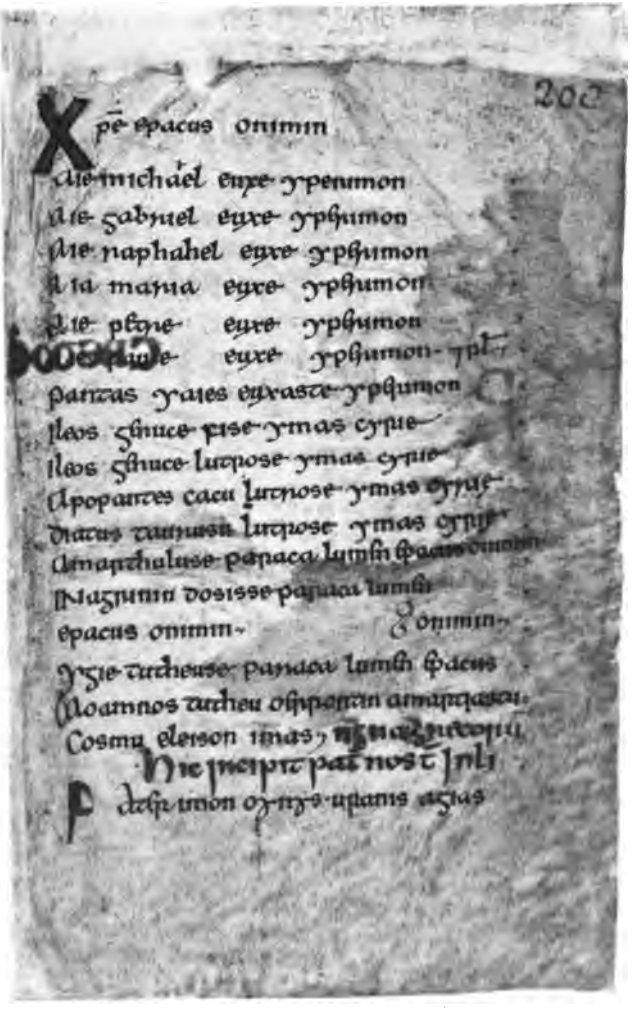
"HIC INCIPIT PATER NOSTER IN LINGUA GRECORUM.

"Pater imon oynys. uranis agias tituto onomansu. elthetu ebasilias genitheto; totheli mansu. os senu uranu. keptasgis tonartonimon. tonepiussion. dos simin simero. keaffi simin. taoffilemata imon oske imis affiomen tasophiletas imon kemies ininkis imos. isperasmon. ala ryse imas apatu poniru."

The omission of the doxology is in accordance with the usage of the Latin Church. The Church of England also omits the doxology, except in Services of Thanksgiving.

Then follows the rudimentary Apostles' Creed, known as the old Roman Creed, also in Greek, phonetically transliterated, and headed "Credo Grece."

The portion of Trisagion which follows after the rudimentary Apostles' Creed in Greek is headed "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus," and is nearly the same as the first part of the Trisagion sung by the choir at the present day in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom; but the insertion of *otheos* indicates a conformity with the Latin Tersanctus as given in the Sarum and the present Roman Missal just before the Canon of the Mass, and in the *Te Deum.* The omission of the enclitic σου at the end of the sentence is one of the many indications that these passages were written down by ear.



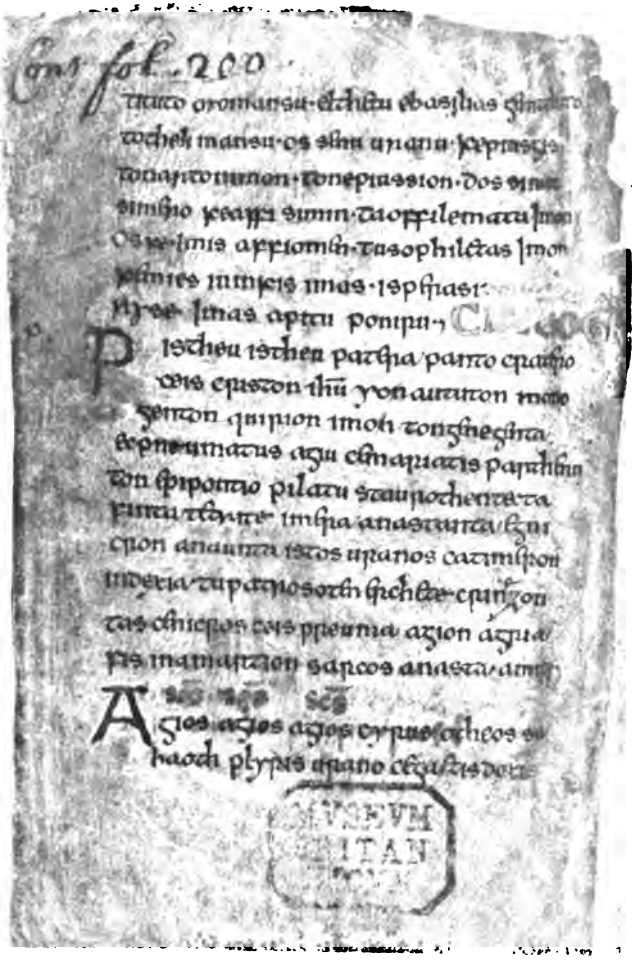
200

Xpē epacus onimin

Sie michaēl exre ypenumon
Sie gabriel exre ypnumon
Sie naphahel exre ypnumon
Sia mama exre ypnumon
Sie phne exre ypnumon
Sie [illegible] exre ypnumon ypt
pantas yaies exraste ypnumon
Sleos xpiuce pise ymas cypie
Sleos xpiuce lurpose ymas cypie
Apopantes cacu lurpose ymas cypie
Diacas tauruson lurpose ymas cypie
Amapthalose pepaca lumin epacus onimin
Magnum dosisse papaca lumin
epacus onimin. & onimin.
Ysie tucheuse papaca lumin epacus
Aoamnos tucheu oppenan amapthaca.
Cosmu eleison imas, [illegible]
Nie incipit pat nost ihū
Sdpi unon oznzs uptamis aglas

III.

"Psalter of King Athelstan," fol. 200.



IV.

"Psalter of King Athelstan," fol. 200b.

The corresponding words in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom are,

Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, Κύριος Σαβαώθ· πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ δόξης σου[d].

In the Roman Missal the words are, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua.

The words *ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος*, of the Greek Trisagion are not so much restricted in the Greek Church to the Eucharistic Service as in the Latin, but occur frequently in other devotions. They seem to be here appropriately introduced as an adoration of the Blessed Trinity after the Creed.

The repetition of the Trisagion in ordinary devotions, and after the Creed, is in accordance with Greek usage[e].

I do not apprehend that these Greek passages were intended for recitation in public worship, but for monastic and private use, analogously to the Greek portions of Bishop Andrewes's Devotions. The Greek Creed seems to me to be

[d] *Euchologion*, pp. 62, 63, Venice, 1862. Compare Isaiah vi. 3.

[e] Compare *Horologion*, pp. 1, 2, 15, 16, 43, 44, 45. Venice, 1864.

The form *Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, Ἅγιος Ἰσχυρὸς, Ἅγιος Ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς*, occurring at the beginning of the Horologion as well as in the Eucharistic Service, is one of the most cherished, sacred, and frequently repeated ejaculations of the Greek Church. It is retained in the Sarum Missal.

For illustrations of the Epithets, &c., see *Catechesis Hiera*, Nicolas Boulgaris, pp. 89, 90. Corfu, 1852

preserved here as a theological, antiquarian, and literary treasure somewhat as we may now regard it.

The Greek Creed with which we are now specially concerned must doubtless appear to an ordinary Anglo-Greek scholar difficult to make out, but it becomes easily intelligible by comparing it with the Greek text of the Creed connected with the name of Markellus, particularly when read with the living Greek pronunciation, which is clearly identical with that which prevailed about the time when the manuscript was written.

These Greek texts have evidently not been transcribed or even revised by one of the accomplished Greek scholars of Anglo-Saxon times, but appear to have been written down by some one ignorant of Greek, either from memory through hearing them frequently recited, or from dictation by some Greek unacquainted with Roman letters. There is abundant evidence that in the earlier ages of Christianity Greek was highly appreciated not only as an intellectual and theological, but even as a sacred language. Traces of this are still found in the Sarum and the present Roman Missal, but in early ages there was more Greek in the services of the Latin Church.

The Rev. W. E. Scudamore says, "The common language of the infant Church was Greek, even in Rome itself[f]." Dean Milman in his "Latin Christianity" says :—

[f] *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 207. Rivingtons, London, 1872.

"For some considerable (it cannot but be undefinable) part of the three first centuries, the Church of Rome, and most, if not all the Churches of the West, were, if we may so speak, Greek religious colonies; their language was Greek, their organisation Greek, their writers Greek, their Scriptures Greek, and many vestiges and traditions shew that their ritual, their Liturgy, was Greek[g]."

In the Gelasian Sacramentary, as quoted by Professor Heurtley in *Harmonia Symbolica*, is a Creed, the Nicene-Constantinopolitan, assigned to *c.* A.D. 495, and used in France *c.* A.D. 750 in Latin, with transliterated Greek interlined, apparently intended for a bilingual district, the Creed being recited in Greek for the Greek candidates, and in Latin for the Latin. This seems to have been the original practice, but to have degenerated by A.D. 750 in France into saying the Greek Creed over the boys to be baptized, and the Latin Creed over the girls[h].

[g] Milman's "Latin Christianity," b. i. ch. i. vol. i. p. 27.

[h] Cf. Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, t. i. p. 540, quoted in Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, Appendix, 157—160.

In the above Creed, as in other continental documents of the period, the Greek *theta* is transliterated by simple t, e.g. "genetenta" *for* γεννήθεντα, "kateltonta" *for* κατελθόντα, "sarcotenta" *for* σαρκωθέντα, "partenu" *for* Παρθένου, "inantropisanta" *for* ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, "staurotentha" *for* σταυροθέντα, "katezomeno" *for* καθεζόμενον.

The following is the Creed written down by Bishop Markellus in his letter to Pope Julius. He states that he had received it handed down from his fathers in the faith. The numbers of the Articles are here inserted in the margin for the convenience of reference.

1. *Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν παντοκράτορα.*
2. *Καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,*
   τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν.
3. *Τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου.*
4. *Τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ταφέντα.*
5. *καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν.*
6. *Ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, καὶ καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρός.*
7. *Ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.*
8. *καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.*
9. *Ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν.*
10. *Ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτίων.*
11. *Σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν.*
12. *Ζωὴν αἰώνιον*[1].

[1] Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, iii. 72, 3, vol. iii. p. 272, ed. Dindorf. Leipsig, 1861.

The following is the "fossil" Greek Creed, which is given in facsimile Anglo-Saxon letters on autotype Plate IV., and here printed in ordinary Roman type, arranged for comparison with the Creed of Markellus on the opposite page. It is full of faults, not such as would be made by an imperfect Greek scholar among Anglo-Saxons, but by a scribe utterly ignorant of Greek, writing down a Greek passage by dictation or ear.

Credo Gr.

1. Pistheu istheu patera panto cratero.
2. ceis criston ihū yon aututon mono
   genton quirion imon.
3. tongenegenta ecpneumatus agiu
   cemariatis parthenu.
4. ton epipontio pilatu staurothentecta finta.
5. tetrite imera anastanta egni cron.
6. anaunta istos uranos
   catimeron indexia tupatros.
7. oten erchete crinezon tas cenicros.
8. ceis preuma agion.
9. agri.
10. afis inamartion.
11. sarcos anasta.
12. amin.

A comparison of the Greek text of the Creed of Markellus as we find it in Epiphanius with the transliterated Creed in the Psalter of King Athelstan will shew their identity. It is more reasonable to suppose that this transliterated Creed is a worn-down relic of the widespread Greek text of the pre-Nicene Apostles' Creed, than that it should have been derived from an individual Creed of Markellus. If minutely scrutinised as a fossil it will yield some interesting indications. "Theu," as representing a notable word of frequent occurrence, is spelt with the Latin digraph th: "patera" is here inserted, though wanting in Epiphanius: "panto cratero" is a grand word, retained in the Nicene Creed, signifying All Ruler, for which the Latin "omnipotens" is a weak substitute; it is clear that *παντοκράτωρ* is the original word, and "omnipotens" a translation. In some Anglo-Saxon Creeds 'aelwealdend' (or as it would more properly be spelt, ealwealdend), *all wielding*, occurs. This is an admirable translation of *παντοκράτωρ*, and is more historic and forcible than "omnipotens" or "almighty." The epithet is fully appreciated by Professor Heurtley, and he gives references respecting it[1]. The trilingual creed

[1] The trilingual creed is given in the *Harmonia Symbolica*, pp. 91—93. 'Ealmihtig' is given as a marginal gloss to 'aelwealdend.' See also pp. 85, 87, 138, *παντοκράτωρ*,—*ὁ πάντων κρατῶν*, *ὁ πάντων ἐξουσιάζων*, as St. Cyril of Jerusalem explains it, *Catech.* 8, § 3. The Anglo-Saxon text is also given from Heurtley by Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, p. 57.

in which it occurs is from a manuscript (R. 17) in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, containing the Psalter and the usual hymns, each in Latin, Norman-French, and Anglo-Saxon. The manuscript is of about A.D. 1125. 'Ealwealdend' is the present participle of the verb 'ealwealdan,' *to wield all.* Grein gives one instance of its use in Anglo-Saxon poetry, 'alwaldend God,' *Botschaft* 31, but in the form 'ealwealda,' *omnipotens, omnia regens,* it frequently occurs in Caedmon and elsewhere.

The interesting grammatical fact noted by Grein that the adjective 'ealwealda' is used in the weak or definite declension only, indicates that the definite article is always understood or expressed with this epithet, and therefore that it belongs exclusively to the Supreme Being, as in the 24 passages of Anglo-Saxon poetry quoted by Grein:—

> "This is se ilca ealwalda God
> Thone on fyrndagum faederas cuthon."
> Andreas, *Vercelli Codex*, 752, 3[k].
> "*This is the same all sovereign God*
> *Whom in days of yore patriarchs knew.*"

In a late Greek Creed quoted by Bp. Pearson, παντοκράτωρ is used in the first article, and in the sixth article παντοδύναμος[l], which is clearly intended as an equivalent to "omnipotens."

[k] See Grein's "Anglo-Saxon Poetry," Text, vol. ii. p. 28, and Glossary, vol. i. p. 244, art. ealwealda.

[l] Bp. Pearson "On the Creed," p. 337, note N, ed. Burton, Oxford, 1843; Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, pp. 81, 87, 138.

"Genegenta" is a failure to express the Greek theta: in the word "parthenu" the theta is correctly expressed by the digraph, so also in "staurothente." "Anaunta," intended to be pronounced anavanta, for the Greek *ἀνάβαντα*, is a word which clearly shews the common origin of the two Creeds. The corresponding word in the Nicene Creed is *ἀνελθόντα*. Instead of catimenon we have in the Nicene Creed *καθεζόμενον*, but the most important point of all is to observe that in "catimenon," and "oten" which follows, we have simple t for the Greek theta, as in the so-called Litany we have "euxaste" for *εὔξασθε*, and in the Lord's Prayer "agias titu" for *ἁγιασθήτω*. The faults in expressing the Greek theta, but particularly the substitution of simple t, seem to indicate certainly that these transliterated portions were written in Germany. Otho, at the time of his marriage in 930, was not yet Emperor, but Duke of Saxony, which is a probable locality for the writing in question. It is a curious linguistic fact that the English have and easily pronounce both the sharp sound of th, as in *thick*, *thin*, *thistle*, *think*, *thank*, &c., which is the Greek theta; and also the flat sound, which we might represent by dh in *this*, *that*, *these*, *those*, *there*, which is exactly equivalent to the present sound of the Greek delta. The Anglo-Saxons had distinct signs for these sounds, Þ, þ, for the sharp sound, and Ð, ð for the flat, but these signs came to be used promiscuously before the writing of our earliest

Anglo-Saxon MSS.[m] Even when the Germans used the digraph th to represent the Greek theta, they pronounced it as simple t. The name of the great Emperor is usually written Otto, because it has been so pronounced by Germans, but other nations besides the Germans differ from the Greeks and English in the sound of th. A common puzzle for a Frenchman is said to be the fluent and correct pronunciation of the sentence, "I thrust this thistle through the thick of my thumb," but it would be equally puzzling to a German without careful practise, as noted by Max Müller[n]. The conclusion of the Creed

[m] "The Anglo-Saxon script, like the Irish, gradually developed into a minuscule, incorporating the Runes *wen* ƿ (*w*), and *thorn* þ (*th*), the latter of which maintains a struggling existence, being still used by old-fashioned persons, who write ye for 'the,' little thinking, probably, that they are employing the survival of a Scandinavian rune which the Goths, before they left their early home on the Baltic, had obtained from the Greek colonies on the Euxine centuries before the commencement of the Christian era. It proves ultimately to be derived from the Greek *delta*, which, after making the round of Europe by the Northern seas, rejoined in England the other letters of the Greek alphabet, which had come by the Mediterranean route."—"The Alphabet," by Isaac Taylor, vol. ii. pp. 179, 180. London, Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1883.

[n] "A fifth barrier is produced by bringing the tip of tongue almost point-blank against the back of the upper teeth, or, according to others, by placing it against the edge of the upper teeth, or even between the edges of the upper and lower teeth. If then we emit the spiritus asper we form the English *th*, if we emit the spiritus lenis, the English *dh*; the former mute, as in *breath*, the latter intonable, as in *to breathe*, and both very difficult for a German to pronounce."—Max

by "sarkos anastasin, Amen," is in strict conformity with the early usage of the Latin Church, as noted by S. Jerome and S. Augustine, "vitam eternam" being implied as an inference.

We thus see that all these transliterated devotions have been compiled by a member of the Latin Church. At the present day there are thousands of Greeks in Venice and the East who are in communion with the Church of Rome, but are allowed to use their own ritual and language. They are called "Uniats."

The Creed on page 21 nearly corresponds with the text of the *Symbolum Apostolorum*, or *Regula Fidei*, as given in S. Augustine, Rufinus, and elsewhere, and commonly spoken of as the Old Roman or Western Creed.

I. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem;
II. Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unigenitum, Dominum nostrum.
III. Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Virgine Maria.

Müller, "Science of Language," Second Series, p. 134. London, Longman, 1864.

The curious contrast of English and German, although cognate languages, with respect to the sound of delta and theta, may be illustrated by the following lines of Goethe:—

"Ergeht's euch wohl, so denkt an mich,
Und danket Gott so warm als ich
Für diesen Trunk euch danke."
Goethe, *Der Sänger*.

"If it goes well with you, think of me,
And thank God as warmly as I
For this drink thank you."

IV. Sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus;
V. Tertio die resurrexit a mortuis;
VI. Ascendit in coelum;
Sedet at dexteram Patris.
VII. Inde venturus est judicaturus vivos et mortuos.
VIII. Credo et in Spiritum Sanctum;
IX. Sanctam ecclesiam;
X. Remissionem peccatorum;
XI. Carnis resurrectionem
XII. in vitam aeternam.

The chief points to be noted in this Creed are,—

That in the second article, "unicum" seems to be the more received word in S. Augustine, and "unigenitum" explanatory;

That in the third article, "Qui natus est per Spiritum Sanctum ex Maria Virgine" is also found in S. Augustine;

That in the twelfth article, "in vitam aeternam" appears to be comment deduced from "Carnis resurrectionem[o]."

The phenomenon of this Greek Creed of Markellus so nearly agreeing with the older and more rudimentary form of our Apostles' Creed, as known and used in the Latin Church, has attracted much attention amongst students of ecclesiastical history, but I think the usual explanation of this phenomenon very inadequate and delusive. The usual explanation I meet with is that Markellus being, not without good

[o] Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, pp. 36, 37. Oxford, 1858.

reason, accused of heresy, put forward this Creed in A.D. 341, a mere Greek version of the so-called Old Roman Creed, or as some say of the Aquileian Creed, to clear himself of the charge of heresy before Pope Julius.

I shall now endeavour to shew,—

1. That Markellus was a most deeply interesting personage, and his surroundings still more so.

2. I shall give good reasons for believing him to be an earnest champion for the orthodox faith: and,

3. That whether he was orthodox or heterodox, the Greek Creed which he alleges, far from being a mere Greek version of the Latin Creed, is the original source of the Latin. It is not pretended by him to be his own composition, but he says that he received it by tradition from his ancestors in the Faith, and had always made it the foundation of his preaching[p].

First, as to Markellus and his surroundings.

He was Bishop of Ankŷra, the metropolis of the Galatians, to whom S. Paul wrote an Epistle. He presided as Bishop over the Council held at

[p] Ταύτην καὶ παρὰ τῶν θείων γραφῶν εἰληφὼς τὴν πίστιν καὶ παρὰ τῶν κατὰ θεὸν προγόνων διδαχθεὶς ἔν τε τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ κηρύττω καὶ πρὸς σὲ νῦν γέγραφα τὸ ἀντίγραφον τούτου παρ' ἐμαυτῷ κατασχών. Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, iii. 72, 3, vol. iii. p. 273, ed. Dindorf. Leipsig, 1861.

"*Having received this faith from the Divine Scriptures, and having been taught it by those who under God were my forefathers, I both preach it in the Church of God, and now write it to thee, retaining the copy thereof in my own keeping.*"

Ankŷra, A.D. 314, where were made 25 Canons, received into the code of the Universal Church.

He was, eleven years afterwards, present at the Nicene Council, A.D. 325; was a firm friend of Athanasius, and an earnest champion of orthodoxy. He wrote a book against Asterius, and the Arians took occasion from this book to accuse him of heresy akin to that of Sabellius, and Paul of Samosata. He was deposed by their influence about the same time that Athanasius was thrust out from the Bishopric of Alexandria.

Markellus, with Athanasius and others, was solemnly declared orthodox and free from heresy at the second Council of Rome, A.D. 341, under Pope Julius, to whom he addressed a letter, in which he wrote out the Creed in question. Of course he received the Nicene Creed, which he had assisted in forming, but he naturally gave the older Creed, to shew that he had always been orthodox. The result was that he was solemnly pronounced clear from heresy past and present.

The Nicene Creed at first was not commonly recited even in the so-called Eastern Church, but seems rather to have been a standard of appeal in controversy, somewhat analogous to our own Articles of Religion, though very sacred and authoritative.

At the Council of Sardica in Illyricum, A.D. 347, Markellus was again with Athanasius solemnly pronounced free from heresy, and the

Synod of Sardica wrote to Pope Julius, saying that they retained in communion Markellus, Athanasius, and Asclepius [q].

Besides the connexion of Galatia with S. Paul there are some very curious and interesting points of its connexion with the extreme west and our own country.

The Galatae were descendants of a horde of Gauls, who, after the defeat in Greece of a large detachment of their body, under the leadership of Brennus, about B.C. 278, burst into Asia, and settled in that part of Asia Minor afterwards called from them Galatia, taken from Phrygia and Cappadocia. Galatae is held by competent judges to be only a form of Keltae, *κελτοί* in Herodotus, and these people, as explained very interestingly in Conybeare and Howson's "Life and Epistles of S. Paul," and by Bishop Lightfoot on the Epistle to the Galatians, were akin to the Keltic race, which includes the Gauls, the Bretons of Brittany, the Britons of Britain, the Irish, the Highland Scotch or Gaels, the Welsh, the Manx, the Cornish, and the ancient Cymry of Cumberland. The city of Ankȳra was in the eastern part of Galatia, called Gallogrecia, from the number of Greeks mixed with the population, but was the metropolis of the whole of Galatia. It is said to have received its name from the anchors of ships captured from Mithridates, sent by Ptolemy, King of Egypt, as a present to the Galatians [r].

[q] See *Concilia*, Mansi, tom. iii. col. 41. [r] Ibid., tom. ii. col. 536.

Another very interesting circumstance of this place, which I venture to think the birthplace of the written Greek text of the Apostles' Creed, which had been previously handed down by oral tradition, as the Homeric poems were handed down for hundreds of years, is that, less than half a century before S. Paul preached the Christian faith in that locality, a notable Temple of Rome and Augustus was built there.

At Angoura, as the place is still called, are preserved the remains of this Temple, which was afterwards converted into a Christian Church. A ground-plan is given of it in Texier's "Byzantine Architecture," p. 91, where are these remarkable words :—

"The usual custom in Greek churches was to make the apse circular on plan. Since the reign of Justinian this rule had been departed from but little. The apse was generally lighted by three windows, in honour of the Holy Trinity. Here, however, the chancel has a square instead of a semicircular termination, and this is the most ancient example known of the square east end, of which it is difficult to cite a single example in Italy, but which became common in Normandy and England in the eleventh and twelfth centuries."

So far Texier. I believe I should have no difficulty in adducing examples of square-ended churches in England and Ireland before the eleventh century, although Dr. Rock, in his "Church of our Fathers," seems to state that the apsidal, basilican, Italian type was universal for churches, large and small, in England before the Conquest.

It is curious that the name of this Bishop of Ankŷra should have a connexion with the Emperor Augustus. We are familiar in Roman history with the name which I suppose we must as yet in Latin call Marcellus.

"Aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
Ingreditur victorque viros supereminet omnes!
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Heu miserande puer! Si qua fata aspera rumpas
Tu Marcellus eris[8]."

The name was as common in the Christian Church as in Roman history. There was a Pope of Rome, named Marcellus, Martyr, A.D. 300. Whether Bishop Markellus was by birth a Greek or a Roman I will not dispute, but it cannot be doubted that he taught and preached in the same language as S. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Galatians, which was the sacred language of Christianity even in Rome itself for more than 200 years from the beginning of the Christian era.

As Markellus is still written of as a heretic by many learned men, and Marcellianism is used in Church histories to denote a modification of Sabellianism, I must beg leave to refer for a complete refutation of these aspersions to a note at the beginning of the Life of S. Basil of Ankŷra, Priest and Martyr, 22 March, A.D. 362, in Butler's "Lives of the Saints." Alban Butler thus defends Markellus against the charge of heresy—

[8] Cf. Æneid vi. ll. 855—883.

"Markellus wrote a famous book against the Arians, which Eusebius of Caesarea and all the Arians condemned, as reviving the exploded heresy of Sabellius. But Sabellianism was a general slander with which they aspersed all orthodox pastors. It is indeed true that S. Hilary, S. Basil, S. Chrysostom, and Sulpicius Severus charge Markellus with that error, but were deceived by the clamours of the Arians. For Markellus appealing to Pope Julius, and repairing to Rome, was acquitted, and his book declared orthodox by that pope in 341, and also by the Council of Sardica in 347; as S. Hilary (Fragm. 3. pp. 1308, 1311) and S. Athanasius (*Apol. contra Arianos*, p. 165) testify. It was a calumny of the Arians, though believed by S. Hilary, that S. Athanasius at length abandoned and condemned him. It is demonstrated by Dom. Montfaucon from the works of S. Athanasius that he ever defended the innocence of Markellus (t. 2, *Collect. Patr.*). Moreover, Markellus being informed that S. Basil had suggested to S. Athanasius certain suspicions of his faith in 372, towards the end of his life, sent to S. Athanasius his most orthodox confession of faith, in which he explicitly condemns Sabellianism; which authentic monument was published by Montfaucon (t. 2, *Collect. Patr.*, p. 55). If Petavius, Bull, and others, who censure Markellus, had seen this confession they would have cleared him of the imputation of Sabellianism, and expounded favourably certain ambiguous expressions which occurred in his book against the Arians, which is now lost, and was compiled against a work of Asterius the Sophist, surnamed the advocate of the Arians[t]."

[t] Note at the beginning of Life of S. Basil of Ankŷra, Priest and Martyr, 22 March, A.D. 362, Butler's "Lives of the Saints."

But the crowning testimony to the orthodoxy of Markellus is that of Epiphanius himself, who says :—

"Upon one occasion I myself asked the blessed Father Athanasius concerning this Markellus how the case stood respecting him. But he neither apologised on his behalf, nor, on the other hand, did he inveigh angrily against him, but merely smiling indicated by his countenance that he was not far from error, but he accounted him as having excused himself[u]."

As far as I know I am singular, in England, in thinking that the Creed of Markellus is the first known written copy of the Apostles' Creed as it has come down to us, and that the Latin Church received this lesser Creed, as she did the Greek language, the Apostles S. Paul and S. Peter, the Greek Scriptures, and the Christian Faith itself, from the East.

I will therefore beg leave to allege in support of my views the recently published opinions of three learned foreigners.

Caspari, in his "Sources for the History of the

[u] *Ἠρόμην δὲ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ χρόνῳ τινὶ τὸν μακαρίτην πάπαν Ἀθανάσιον περὶ τούτου τοῦ Μαρκέλλου πῶς ἂν ἔχοι περὶ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ οὔτε ὑπερα-πελογήσατο οὔτε πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθῶς ἠνέχθη, μόνον δὲ διὰ τοῦ προσώπου μειδιάσας ὑπέφηνε μοχθηρίας μὴ μακρὰν αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπολογησάμενον εἶχε.* (Epiphanius, ed. Dindorf., vol. iii. Pars I. p. 273-4. Leipsig, T. O. Weigel, 1861.)

"De quo cum aliquando beatum Papam Athanasium interogassem, cujusmodi eum arbitraretur, ille neque purgavit hominem, neque vero asperius notavit: sed lenitur arridens, non multum ab improbitate abhorruisse significavit, et in eorum loco, qui se purgassent, habuit." (Epiphanius, ed. Petavius, tom. i. p. 837. Cologne, 1682.)

Baptismal Creed and the Rule of Faith," b. iii. Christiania, 1875.

Dr. Hahn, Professor of Breslau, in his "Creeds and Rules of Faith of the Ancient Church." Breslau, 1877.

Professor Schaff of New York, in a note on the Greek Text of Markellus in the "Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches," p. 48. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1877.

Dr. Hahn gives a note (of which the following is a translation) on a copy which he cites of the Creed of Markellus of Ankŷra :—

"Contained [i.e. the Greek text of the Creed of Markellus is contained] in a writing composed about the year 337, by Markellus, addressed to the Roman Bishop Julius, by which he convinces the latter of his orthodoxy, after he had been deposed from his office by the Eusebians, in 336. It is to be found in Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxii. Opp. ed. Petav., tom. i. p. 836, ed. Dindorf., tom. iii. pt. i. p. 272. This portion of the *Panarion* is preserved, and consequently also the Creed in three manuscripts: one Cod. Jenensis (1304), one Cod. Vratislaviensis (of the thirteenth century in *der Rhedigenschen Bibliothek*), and one Cod. Paris (of the early part of the sixteenth century), all three of which have flowed from the same source. The Creed gives exactly the text of the old Roman Creed, apart from the fact that in No. I. the article *πατέρα* is wanting, and that in No. III. the article *ζωὴν αἰώνιον* is added, both which variations may probably be traced to later transcribers. Caspari (compare his treatise on this Creed in his 'Sources for the History of the Baptismal Creed and the Rule of Faith,' b. iii. Christiania, 1875, pp. 28—161) endeavours to prove that it is not a translation

from the Latin, but gives the text of the Creed, which was in use in the Greek part of the Roman community at the time of the composition of the letter. Indeed he makes it probable that it contains for the most part the original text (*den ursprünglichen text*) of the Roman Creed, as this latter had come to Rome from the East (perhaps from Asia Minor), on the confines (*an der Grenzscheide*) of the apostolic age[x]."

In a note on the Greek text of Markellus Professor Schaff has these words :—

"The Greek text of Markellus differs from the Latin of Rufinus only by the omission of the predicate *πατέρα* (Father) in the first article (which may be an error of the copyist), and by the addition of the last two words, *ζωὴν αἰώνιον* (which occur also in the Creed of Petrus Chrysologus of Ravenna). It was heretofore regarded as a translation of the Roman Creed, but Caspari, with a vast amount of learning (vol. iii. pp. 28 seq.), has made it almost certain that it is the original Creed of the Roman Church, in which the Greek language prevailed during the first two centuries. It was probably transplanted to Rome from Asia Minor early in the second century. It is simpler and older than the rules of faith of Tertullian and Irenaeus[y]."

[x] *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche.* Dr. Hahn, p. 14, note 39. Breslau, Morgenstern, 1877.

[y] "The Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches," by Professor Schaff, of New York. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1877, p. 48.

CHAPTER III.

IT remains that I should indicate as briefly as possible some chief points in the history of the Apostles' Creed.

The source, foundation, and authority for this and every orthodox Creed are the words of our Lord already quoted, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you[a]."

There has ever been in the Church of Christ the closest connexion between Baptism and the Creed. The early Church set herself to teach, in obedience to her Lord's command, the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity with the utmost care, diligence and reverence. The Creeds and the deep mysterious truths of Christianity, were not imparted at once to the Catechumens, while they were yet merely persons who had expressed a wish to become Christians, and were a kind of raw recruits from heathendom and the world. It was only when by careful instruction and training they were thought ripe for Baptism, and from being "audientes" had attained to the rank of "Competentes," that the Creed was delivered

[a] S. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

to them, that they might learn it, and after a sufficient interval rehearse it to their teachers. The phrase for delivering the Creed to the "competentes" was "tradere symbolum," and for their rehearsing it, "reddere symbolum." This practice of the early Church illustrates the words of S. Paul: "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God[b]." "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation[c]."

Our Catechism bears the traces of early tradition. "Rehearse" is a good representation of "Reddite," and the question and answer following the Creed recognise the truth that the chief thing to be taught and learnt in any orthodox Christian Creed is an intelligent and fruitful belief in the Blessed Trinity. The Nicene Creed at first ended with the words, "and in the Holy Ghost."

The learned Caspari distinguishes between Baptismal Creed and Rule of Faith, *Taufsymbol und Glaubensregel;* Dr. Hahn between Creed and Rule of Faith, *Symbol und Glaubensregel;* Professor Heurtley between Declarative and Interrogative Creeds. These distinctions may be convenient if not overstrained, but the phrase of Caspari is the best. A short, simple, primitive baptismal Creed may properly be distinguished from a longer and more elaborate Creed, such as may be called a Rule of Faith, but it must

[b] Rom. x. 17. [c] Rom. x. 10.

be remembered that the longer has been evolved from the shorter, and there must be the strictest harmony of substance between them, however the words may differ.

Dr. Hahn's distinction is reasonable, but it ought to be remembered that S. Augustine uses the two expressions as synonymous, "Symbolum sive Regula Fidei." Professor Heurtley points out that the Interrogative Creed in our Baptismal Service has some important variations of expression from the Declarative Apostles' Creed in Mattins and Evensong, chiefly in the Articles, "Remission of Sins," and "Resurrection of the Flesh." Exactly the same variations are found in the Interrogative Apostles' Creed in the Visitation of the Sick. Interrogative is a good term of distinction within the limits of our Prayer-Book, but it would be insufficient and misleading in the general history of the Church to attempt a permanent classification of Creeds into Interrogative and Declarative. The interrogative creeds or parts of a creed used at the time of Baptism were only one of the preliminaries before the administration of that Blessed Sacrament, just as the solemn question of the Bishop in our Confirmation Service is the sequel of much careful preparation of the candidates by their parish priest. Much care and pains were used in catechising Divine truth into the candidates, and catechising it out of them before they were brought to baptism. For these processes a creed either written or unwritten was

necessarily used. In the words, *Ὑποτύπωσιν ἔχε ὑγιαινόντων λόγων, ὧν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἤκουσας, Hold fast the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me*[d], it has been pointed out that there is no article in the Greek text[e]. We may also note that the relative refers to *λόγων*, not to *ὑποτύπωσιν*. I am not prepared to relinquish the authorised translation, in which I would note the article "the" is unemphatic, as frequently in English, but I would, as a help to interpretation, suggest some such paraphrase as this, "Preserve a delineation of such health-giving words as thou hast heard from me." The passage has been understood by Lord King and others to refer to a creed, and I would remark that the words appear to be specially applicable to an unwritten creed.

During the first 400 years of the Christian era there was a strong tradition against writing down the creed in a regular and complete form, or entrusting it to the unprepared and uninitiated, or in any way needlessly exposing it to the assaults and gainsayings of adversaries. Sozomen assigns as his reason for not inserting the Creed of Nicaea in his History, which it was once his intention to have done, his fear lest that document might come into the hands of the uninitiated[f].

[d] 2 Tim. i. 13.

[e] By Canon Kingsbury at a Warminster Clerical Meeting.

[f] Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. i. c. 20, quoted by Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, p. 33, note.

In A.D. 341 Markellus did not write down the Apostles' Creed for publication, but in a letter to Pope Julius.

S. Jerome, in his letter to Pammachius, about the year A.D. 397, has these notable words :—

"In Symbolo fidei et spei nostrae, quod ab Apostolis traditum, non scribitur in charta et atramento; sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus, post confessionem Trinitatis et unitatem Ecclesiae, omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum, carnis resurrectione concluditur[g]."

About A.D. 400 and 421, S. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, in his beautiful and instructive treatises on the Creed expressly refrains from giving the articles continuously. It is only by disentangling them from the commentary in which they are imbedded that we find he used the older and more rudimentary form of the Apostles' Creed in instructing the candidates for Baptism. He tells them again and again that they are to learn it by hearing it, and are not to write it even to learn it, or when they have learnt it. He applies the words of Jeremiah xxxi. 33: "After those days, saith the Lord, I will put My law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts[h]."

While he inculcates its frequent use in private devotion he mentions that it was not like the

[g] Epist. xxxviii. *S. Hieron. ad Pammachium.* Op. tom. iv. col. 323.

[h] Sermo ccxii., *In traditione Symboli.* Cf. ed. Ben. tom. v. col. 653. Cf. Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, pp. 32, 33, note.

Lord's Prayer recited in worship on the Lord's Day.

There is therefore good reason for supposing the Apostles' Creed, in its earlier and more rudimentary form as given by Markellus, Bishop of Ankŷra, in Greek, by S. Augustine, Rufinus, and others in Latin, to be the old Baptismal, Catechetical, instructional and devotional Creed of the whole Church from the very verge of the Apostolic age. As heresies increased it was thought desirable that the Bishops of the Church, summoned from every part of the inhabited world to the Council of Nicaea, under Constantine the Great, should draw up a fuller and more controversial creed. This they did strictly on the lines and in the framework of the Apostles' Creed. In Professor Heurtley's valuable and interesting *Harmonia Symbolica* one of the most interesting parts is that in which he gives a Harmony between the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, A.D. 381, and the Apostles' Creed of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. But I think a much more interesting, forcible, and instructive comparison may be made between the Greek text of Markellus and the Nicene Creed as recited in the Greek Church.

This comparison will enable us to see the absolute identity of the two Creeds, that they contain the same number of articles, viz. twelve, and in the same order, and to appreciate the great influence, perhaps unconscious, of the traditional and as yet unwritten Apostles' Creed

upon the Nicene Council, A.D. 325, and the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381. It is a misnomer to call the Nicene Creed an Eastern Creed. Constantine the Great, who summoned the 318 bishops from all parts of the world, went out from Britain A.D. 306. The Pope of Rome, being unable through illness to attend the Council, was represented by two delegates. The Creed was accepted by the whole Christian Church, and since the end of the sixth century has been recited after the Holy Gospel in every Mass and Service of Holy Communion in the West as well as in the East.

The Creed of Markellus as preserved by Epiphanius. The numbers of the articles are added in the margin to facilitate comparison with the Nicene Creed on the opposite page.

I. *Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν παντοκράτορα.*

II. *Καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονο γενῆ,*
τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν.

III. *Τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου*
καὶ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου.

IV. *Τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα,*
καὶ ταφέντα.

V. *Καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρα ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν.*

VI. *Ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς,*
Καὶ καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρός.

VII. *Ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.*

The Nicene Creed as given in *Catechesis Hiera*, where an explanation is added at the end of each article.

ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΑΡΘΡΟΝ.

Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν, Πατέρα Παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ, καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων, καὶ ἀοράτων.

ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΡΘΡΟΝ.

Καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων. φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο.

ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΑΡΘΡΟΝ.

Τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, καὶ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα.

ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ ΑΡΘΡΟΝ.

Σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ταφέντα.

ΠΕΜΠΤΟΝ ΑΡΘΡΟΝ.

Καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς Γραφάς.

ΕΚΤΟΝ ΑΡΘΡΟΝ.

Καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρός.

ΕΒΔΟΜΟΝ ΑΡΘΡΟΝ.

Καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· οὗ τῆς Βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος.

VIII. *Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.*

IX. *Ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν*

X. *Ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτίων.*

XI. *Σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν.*

XII. *Ζωὴν αἰώνιον*[1].

[1] This Creed has been already given, p. 20, for comparison with the "fossil" Greek Creed, &c. The ninth article is in the transliterated Creed of King Athelstan's Psalter, merely indicated by the letters "a g r," which would have been inexplicable except by reference to the original Greek text. The other faults of the transliterator have been fully noted above, p. 21, and the elaborations of the Apostles' Creed in the West are noted below, Appendix A.

ΑΡΘΡΟΝ ΟΓΔΟΟΝ.

Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ Κύριον, τὸ Ζωοποιὸν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ, καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον, καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν Προφητῶν.

ΑΡΘΡΟΝ ΕΝΝΑΤΟΝ.

Εἰς μίαν Ἁγίαν Καθολικὴν, καὶ Ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν.

ΑΡΘΡΟΝ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ.

Ὁμολογῶ ἓν Βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

ΑΡΘΡΟΝ ΕΝΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ.

Προσδοκῶ Ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν.

ΑΡΘΡΟΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ.

Καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος [k].

[k] Nikolas Boulgaris, *Catechesis Hiera*, pp. 108—112. Corfu, 1852.

The headings ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΑΡΘΡΟΝ, *First Article*, &c., are given above as in the *Catechesis Hiera*. They will be found to agree exactly with the division of the Apostles' Creed into articles by Bishop Pearson. The above text, omitting the headings, gives the Nicene Creed as recited by the Greek Church in the Eucharistic Service, in ordinary devotions, and in the Baptismal Service, being the only Creed used by the Greeks for recitation.

The English phrase "Articles of Belief" may be illustrated by reference to the Etymological Dictionary, Oxford, 1882, of Professor Skeat, who explains "article" as meaning literally "a little joint," from the root AR, *to fit;* and "believe," *to have faith in*, as cognate to the Gothic *galaubjan*, *to believe, to esteem as valuable;* from *galaubs*, *valuable*, which again is from the Gothic *liubs*, *dear*, equivalent to Anglo-Saxon 'leof,' English *lief.*

In course of time a still more controversial Creed came to be received in the Church as the result of the labours and teaching of S. Athanasius. The legend that the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed were contributed by the twelve Apostles before dispersing from Jerusalem is stated in the Commentary of Rufinus, a Priest of Aquileia, now Ulm, on the Danube who died about A.D. 410. It seems to have arisen from the Creed having been called *Symbolum Apostolorum*, and so esteemed by S. Jerome and others, and also from a notion among the Latins that σύμβολον meant *collectio*. Rufinus, like S. Augustine, does not give the Creed in a continuous form, but dispersed throughout his Commentary.

The most complete and received appropriation of the several articles to the several Apostles seems to be that given by Durandus, the celebrated writer on ritual, who was Bishop of Mende, and died A.D. 1296. It is as follows :—

"Traditur quòd postquam Apostoli spiritum paracletum acceperunt: cum jam forent ad praedicandum evangelium profecturi, conferentes in unum super articulis fidei statuerunt: ut sicut omnes in una fide concordes, sic omnes unam fidem concorditer praedicarent, et ideò symbolum minus componentes, unusquisque bolum, id est, particulam unam apposuit. Inde secundùm Apostolorum catalogum sive numerum duodecim particulas dignoscitur continere. Petrus namque apposuit, Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem, creatorem coeli et terrae. Andraeas: Et in Jesum Christum filium ejus unicum Dominum nostrum. Jacobus: Qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine. Joannes:

Passus sub Pontio Pilato: crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus. Philippus: Descendit ad inferos: tertia die resurrexit à mortuis. Bartolomaeus: Ascendit ad caelos sedet ad dexteram Dei patris omnipotentis. Thomas: Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. Matthaeus: Credo in Spiritum sanctum. Jacobus: Sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem. Simon: Remissionem peccatorum. Thaddaeus: Carnis resurrectionem. Matthias: Et vitam aeternam[1]."

But it may naturally be asked: If the Apostles' Creed in its older and more rudimentary form prevailed in the East, as an oral tradition, and was first written down in Greek by Markellus, Bishop of Ankŷra, A.D. 341, how came it to fall so much out of use in the East as to be forgotten there, and to be regarded in the Latin Churches as a Creed of the West?

It may be answered that it became eclipsed in the East and displaced, even as a baptismal Creed, by the Nicene, which seems to have been regarded as the Apostles' Creed adapted to the times, and came to be sometimes called "Symbolum Apostolorum." By the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, and the Enoticon, or Edict of Union by the Emperor Zeno, A.D. 482, and other decrees,

[1] Durandus, *Rationale*, lib. iv. c. xxv. p. 133. Lyons, 1672.

A very different arrangement is given in a Creed of the eighth century, France, which ends at 'Carnis resurrectionem,' and divides the fifth article into two:

V. Philippus dixit, Descendit ad inferna;
Thomas dixit, Tertia die resurrexit.

See Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, pp. 67, 68. Oxford, 1858.

the Nicene-Constantinopolitan was ordered to be the only Creed, and it was declared unlawful to use or frame any other. Soon afterwards Timothy, Bishop of Constantinople, ordered it to be used in every Christian assembly, and this example was followed in Jerusalem and elsewhere. In A.D. 589, at the 3rd Council of Toledo, summoned by King Recared, it was ordered to be used in the service of the Mass[m], and this practice became general in the West in imitation of the East. It is still used by the Greeks in the Baptismal Service as well as in the Liturgy and other devotions. It is the only Creed they recite, although they fully receive the Athanasian Creed and append it to their *Horologion*.

Although the Nicene Creed obtained a place in the Latin Missal, we know that by the wisdom of the authorities of the Latin Church the Apostles' Creed passed in course of time into other services and into the devotions of the Breviary, and it seems always to have been retained for Baptism. Somewhat in the same way we find that customs and expressions which have become obsolete in England are retained in America.

The Apostles' Creed as we now have it and value it in every article, and we may almost say in every letter, has, as Lord King says, not been the work of one man or of a day. I fully

[m] Lumby on Creeds, p. 101, cf. *Concilia*, Mansi, tom. ix. p. 990.

assent to this negative proposition, but, on the other hand, I am not prepared to affirm that it has been the work of many men or many days. I prefer to look upon it as the gracious work of God's good providence. The elaborations and improvements of the Apostles' Creed as we now have it are among the many blessings which we owe to the Latin Church, and to the unifying influence of the Popes of Rome. From the germ of our Lord's command it grew through successive ages till it was complete, and in that completeness even to us English people it has been preserved more than a thousand years.

Man cannot add one cubit to his stature. In infancy, childhood, and youth he grows by Divine Providence, and when he has attained his fulness of growth he grows no more in stature though he may still grow in grace and wisdom. We know by study of the Creed written down in Greek by Bp. Markellus, A.D. 341, the Latin Creed commented on by S. Augustine, A.D. 400, and copies of the Old Roman Creed, that the phrases "Maker of Heaven and Earth," "conceived," "descended into hell," "catholic," "communion of saints," are additions to the form which prevailed in the fourth century. They can all be attested from Holy Scripture and the teaching of the Fathers, Greek as well as Latin, but it seems that it was only after the experience of many generations that the Latin Church saw fit to incorporate them into the Apostles' Creed. It is possible some of them may have been in it

before the fourth century, and dropped out for a time.

I do not reckon "everlasting Life" an addition, because it is expressed in one of the Greek copies of the Creed written down by Markellus, and it was so clearly implied in "Resurrection of the Flesh," as explained by S. Augustine and others.

After reviewing the various declarations of faith in early writers before and after the Nicene Council, it is a relief to know that by A.D. 800, at the latest, all three Creeds were complete as we now have them, and were so received in the Anglo-Saxon Church, being not only used in Latin, but translated into English, i.e. Anglo-Saxon, for instruction and private devotion.

At the end of Elfric's second book of Homilies, ed. Thorpe, p. 596, are Anglo-Saxon versions of The Lord's Prayer, The Apostles' Creed, The Nicene Creed, and some beautiful short prayers under the following headings :—

"Her is Geleafa, and Gebed, and Bletsung Laewedum Mannum the thaet Leden ne cunnon. *Here is belief and prayer and blessing for Laymen who know not Latin.*"

The Apostles' Creed is here called "Se Laessa Creda," *The Minor Creed;* the Nicene is called "Maesse Creda," *Mass Creed.*

The Athanasian Creed, Latin and Anglo-Saxon interlined, is given by Mr. Birch, "Utrecht Psalter," p. 298.

In the Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic

Church is given, p. 166, in Latin the Apostles' Creed complete from the Book of Deer: p. 231, the Nicene-Constantinopolitan in Latin, omitting "filioque," from the Stowe Missal. At p. 189, in the same book, is an interesting form. This Creed differs in its wording from all other forms which are known to exist, says the Editor. I suppose it may be described in the sort of language which has been usual among critics as a creed of the western type with Nicene and Athanasian variations. I should prefer to say it is the Apostles' Creed, with amplifications to meet the assaults on the faith or the dulness of understanding which prevailed in some particular locality. It is as follows:—

"Incipit Symmulum.

"Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem inuisib[i]lem, omnium creaturarum uisibilium et inuisibilium conditorem.

"Credo et in ihesum Christum, filium eius unicum dominum nostrum, deum omnipotentem, conceptum de spiritu sancto, natum de maria virgine, Passum sub pontio Pylato, qui crucifixus et sepultus descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in caelis, seditque ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis, exinde uenturus iudicare uiuos ac mortuos.

"Credo et in spiritum sanctum, deum omnipotentem, unam habentem substantiam cum patre et filio, sanctam esse aecclesiam catholicam, ab remisa peccatorum, sanctorum commonionem, carnis resurrectionem. Credo uitam post mortem, et uitam aeternam in gloria Christi.

"Haec omnia credo in Deum. Amen[n]."

[n] "Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church," by F. E. Warren, B.D., p. 189. Oxford, Clar. Press, 1881.

In the Ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church are some very interesting services under the headings, "Scrutinia," "Ad Faciendum Catechumenum," "Expositio vel Traditio Symboli, Missa in Symboli Traditione."

The chief points to be noted are the extreme care with which catechumens were prepared for and admitted to Baptism, the recognition of the tradition that the Creed is to be written in the heart and not with ink, and above all that the Creed, which is repeated again and again in these services, having direct reference to Baptism, is not the Nicene Creed, nor the older and more rudimentary Apostles' Creed as written down by the Galatian Bishop Markellus, or collected from S. Augustine, but the complete Apostles' Creed as used in the Church of England and throughout the Latin Church at the present day[o].

When we look out upon the world and back through the vista of ages we may well recognise, amid the strife and divisions of ancient and modern times, how much has been done even by the external providence of our Heavenly Father to draw and bind men together.

I have in this treatise dwelt much on the diffusion of the Apostles' Creed and the connexion of Bishop Markellus and the Galatians of Asia Minor with the West. I cannot more fitly conclude than by quoting from Professor Heurtley a short notice, and some of the words

[o] Cf. "Ancient Liturgies of Gallican Church," ed. G. H. Forbes, part ii. pp. 161—174, 250—254.

of Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons in Gaul about A.D. 180, a Saint of the whole Church East and West, whose very name speaks Peace.

Professor Heurtley says :—

"St. Irenaeus, the earliest writer who has preserved to us anything approaching to a formal Creed, such as may be supposed to have been in use in the Church of his day, singularly enough serves as a link to connect the East and West together. By birth and education he appears to have belonged to Asia Minor. He speaks of himself as having in his early youth seen and heard Polycarp, whom the Apostles, or some at least of their number, had set over the Church of Smyrna. Afterwards he settled at Lyons, and on the death of Pothinus, A.D. 177, who also probably was of Asiatic origin, became bishop of the Church in that city. So intimate was the connection between the Christians of that part of Gaul and Asia Minor, that when a fierce persecution had been stirred up against the former, one of whose victims was Pothinus, the Gallic churches sent a letter to the Asiatic, to give them an account of their sufferings: 'The Servants of Christ dwelling in Vienne and Lyons of Gaul, to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia having the same faith and hope of redemption with us.' Such is the address of the letter. *Οἱ ἐν Βιέννῃ καὶ Λουγδούνῳ τῆς Γαλλίας παροικοῦντες δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως ἡμῖν πίστιν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν ἀδελφοῖς*[p]."

So far Professor Heurtley, quoting the latter words from Eusebius.

After an exposition of the faith containing

[p] Euseb., *Ecc. Hist.*, lib. v. c. 1, quoted in Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica*, p. 6.

some expressions which were afterwards inserted into the Nicene Creed drawn up about 150 years later, S. Irenaeus, in beautiful and expressive Greek, adds a memorable conclusion, of which I have made the following English translation from the Greek text as given by Professor Heurtley, together with a fine old Latin version :—

"Having received this preaching and this faith as aforesaid, the Church, although dispersed in all the world, diligently guards it as if she inhabited one house: and likewise so believes these truths as if she had one soul and one heart: and so uniformly preaches, teaches, and delivers them as if she possessed one mouth. For the languages throughout the world are dissimilar, but the force of tradition is one and the same. For neither do the Churches founded in Germany believe otherwise, or deliver otherwise, nor those in Spain, nor among the Kelts, nor throughout the East, nor in Egypt, nor in Africa, nor those founded in the central parts of the world. For as the Sun, the creation of God, is in all the world one and the same, so the preaching of the truth shines on all sides and enlightens all men that choose to come to the knowledge of the truth. And neither will he who is all powerful in discourse of those who preside in the Churches utter other than these things (for no one is above the master), nor will he who is weak in discourse diminish the tradition. For since the faith is one and the same, neither can he who is able to say much concerning it add to it, nor he who has little power of speech detract from it[9]."

[9] Translated from the Greek text and Latin version of S. Irenaeus, *Harm. Symb.*, Heurtley, pp. 9—11.

APPENDIX A.

EXTRACT

RESPECTING THE GREEK SCHOLARSHIP AND ELOQUENCE OF ALDHELM, BISHOP OF SHERBORN, A.D. 705—709.

"TRIUM quippe proprietate linguarum, non solum vulgaritate rerum, verum etiam literarum dogmate, sanctissimus iste peritus extitit. Miro denique modo gratiae facundiae omnia idiomata sciebat, et quasi Graecus natione, scriptis et verbis pronunciabat. Mirum namque non fuerat, quia et sancti Spiritus gratia sibi in eo habitaculum fecerat, et illius linguae binos doctores apprime peritos praeclarissimus Ina Rex, quem supra posuimus, ad confirmandam illius literalem scientiam, ab Athenis conduxerat."

"*In the proper use of three languages* (*Hebrew, Greek, Latin*) *this most saintly person was skilled, not merely in common knowledge, but also in literature. In a wonderful way moreover he was acquainted with all the idioms of the grace of eloquence, and pronounced like a Greek by birth in reading and conversation. And it was no wonder, because both the grace of the Holy Spirit dwelt within him, and the most illustrious King Ina, above mentioned, had hired from Athens two first-rate teachers of that language to complete his grammatical knowledge.*" (*Vita Aldhelmi Faricio Auctore*, p. 357, ed. Giles. Oxford, 1844.)

EXTRACT

Respecting the Literary and Scientific Attainments of Charlemagne.

"Erat eloquentia copiosus et exuberans, poteratque, quicquid vellet, apertissime exprimere. Nec patrio tantum sermone contentus, etiam peregrinis linguis ediscendis operam impendit; in quibus Latinam ita didicit, ut aeque, illa ac patria lingua orare sit solitus; Graecam vero melius intelligere quam pronuntiare poterat. Adeo quidem facundus erat, ut etiam didascalus appareret. Artes liberales studiosissime coluit, earumque doctores plurimum veneratus, magnis adficiebat honoribus. In discenda grammatica Petrum Pisanum, diaconum, senem audivit, in caeteris disciplinis Albinum cognomento Alcoinum, item diaconum, de Brittania, Saxonici generis hominem, virum undecumque doctissimum, praeceptorem habuit; apud quem et rethoricae et dialecticae, praecipue tamen astronomiae ediscendae, plurimum et temporis et laboris impertivit. Discebat artem computandi, et intentione sagaci syderum cursus curiosissime rimabatur. Temptabat et scribere, tabulasque et codicellos ad hoc in lecto sub cervicalibus circumferre solebat, ut, cum vacuum tempus esset, manum litteris effigendis assuesceret; sed parum successit labor praeposterus ac sero inchoatus." (Einhardi, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. 3, Pertz, Hannoverae, 1863.)

"*In eloquence he was copious and exuberant, and was able to express most clearly whatever he wished. And not being content alone with his mother tongue, he also took pains in thoroughly learning foreign languages; among which he so learned Latin, that he was wont to pray in that language as much as in his mother tongue; but Greek he was better able to understand than to pronounce. He was indeed so eloquent, that he seemed to be*

a professor. He cultivated the liberal arts most diligently, and shewed the greatest respect for the teachers of them by bestowing upon them high distinctions. In learning grammar he attended the lectures of the aged Peter Pisanus, a deacon, in other departments he had for preceptor Albinus, commonly called Alcuin, also a deacon, from Britain, a Saxon by race, and a man most learned upon every subject; under his instruction he spent much time and labour in learning thoroughly rhetoric and logic, but chiefly astronomy. He learned mathematics, and investigated most minutely and sagaciously the course of the stars. He made persevering efforts also to write, and was accustomed for this purpose to carry about in his litter under the pillows tablets and note-books, that when there was any leisure time he might accustom his hand to the formation of letters; but the labour being uncongenial and begun too late had small success."

ON THE ELABORATIONS OF THE APOSTLES' CREED IN THE WEST.

In speaking of the Creed such words as "corruption," "interpolation," "gloss," freely used in classical criticism, are altogether inapplicable. The improvements have been made under the care of Divine Providence and the zealous watchfulness of the Church. The phrase 'Maker of heaven and earth' is a very natural amplification, and, like some other improvements, was probably adopted from the Nicene Creed. In the West the Latin is our authoritative text. 'Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus e Maria Virgine' is clearly a great improvement upon

the previous phrases in this place. It is strictly scriptural[a], and has now been hallowed by the devout recitation of many centuries. The accumulation of the mournful sentences of the Creed, 'Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, descendit ad inferna,' has resulted from definite reasons, and each item has its definite meaning. In the early Greek text of Markellus *σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα* appeared sufficient, but fierce and subtle objectors soon arose, alleging that the Death of Christ was only a case of suspended animation. But Bishop Pearson remarks that the burial is expressly confessed in order to attest the truth of the Death of Christ going before and His Resurrection following after. The most notable addition of later times is 'descendit ad inferna.' It is a necessary and precious item, but it must be observed that it has never formed a separate article, but may be regarded either as an appendage to 'sepultus' or a prefix to 'tertia die resurrexit,' and it bears a meaning partaking of the mournful character of the sentences which precede it, and also of the joyous tone of those which follow it. The way was through 'the valley and shadow of death[b],' but the goal soon to be reached was the refreshment of Paradise. To the penitent thief our Lord replied, 'To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise[c].' The presence of Christ would

[a] S. Luke ii. 21.

[b] Psalm xxiii. 4.

[c] S. Luke xxiii. 43.

make the place of meeting Paradise to the pardoned thief and other waiting souls.

"Heaven is, dear Lord, where'er Thou art,
Oh never then from me depart,
For to my soul 'tis hell to be
But for one moment without Thee."

Bishop Ken.

"Art thou a weeper? Grief shall fly;
For who can weep with Jesus by?
No terror shall thy hopes annoy;
No tear, except the tear of joy."

Palmer, Book of Praise, No. cccxxx.

In the Church of England, I believe, catechumens are generally taught that "hell" in the Creed retains its primary meaning, an unseen place, and means the place of departed spirits. But the notion of a place of torment has been so persistently attached to the word hell, and to this clause of the Creed, that the utmost vigilance of the teacher and learned Christian is required to oppose it. A great help to understand the meaning which the clause is intended to bear will be to go back as nearly as may be to the time when it was first inserted in the Creed. The earliest notice we have of it is in connexion with the Church of Aquileia, about A.D. 400. We have fortunately a Commentary on the Apostles' Creed by Rufinus, a Priest of Aquileia at that very date. After noting the words of Christ, "Father, into Thy Hands I commend My Spirit[d]," as a fulfilment of the Psalmist's prophecy,

[d] S. Luke xxiii. 46; Psalm xxxi. 6.

he goes on to comment on the words 'descendit in infernum,' treating it not as a new clause, but as one already established. From the quotations which he alleges from the Old Testament he seems to have understood the clause to mean that the soul of Christ passed into the recesses of death, but he also alleges the passage of S. Peter, which in all ages has been understood to be the foundation of this clause. The following are his words :—

"Petrus dicit, *Quia Christus, mortificatus carne, vivificatus autem spiritu qui in ipso habitat, eis qui in carcere conclusi erant descendit spiritibus praedicare, qui increduli fuere in diebus Noe:* in quo etiam quid operis egerit in inferno declaratur[e]. Sed et ipse Dominus per

[e] The descent of Christ into the place of departed spirits, and the above interpretation of the words of S. Peter, are fully recognised in the Orthodox Greek Church, as may be seen in the following quotation from Κατήχησις ἱερα, *Sacred Catechism*, a book much esteemed in the Greek Church.

ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ ΑΡΘΡΟΝ.

Σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ταφέντα.

Παράφρασις.

Πιστεύω αὐτὸν σταυρωθῆναι, οὐκ ἐν ᾗ διαλάμπει σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ οὐσίᾳ, εἰ καὶ τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταυρῶσθαι λέγεται, τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ἀλλὰ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς γεηρᾷ φύσει, καθ' ἣν τὸ χοϊκὸν ἡμῶν ἀνέλαβε φύραμα, καὶ κατάρα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γέγονεν, ἵνα τῆς παρ' ἑαυτῷ Εὐλογίας κοινωνοὺς ἡμᾶς ἀναδείξῃ, καὶ τὸν τῶν κακούργων κατὰ τὴν σάρκα ἠνέσχετο ὑπομεῖναι θάνατον, ἵνα τοῦ θανάτου τὸ κέντρον, τὴν ἁμαρτίαν κατακρίνῃ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τουτέστι τὸν διάβολον. ταφῇ δὲ παραδοθὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ Σῶμα ἄφθαρτον διατηρήσαντα, μηδαμῶς τῆς ἀποῤῥήτου, καὶ ἀνεκφράστου διαιρεθὲν ἑνώσεως, εἰ καὶ τῆς λογικῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ νοερᾶς ψυχῆς ἐχωρίσθη ἐν τῷ τριημέρῳ

Prophetam dicit, tamquam de futuro, *Quia non derelinques animam meam in inferno, nec dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.* Quod rursum Prophetice nihilominus ostendit impletum, cum dicit, *Domine, eduxisti animam meam ab inferno; salvasti me a descendentibus in lacum.* ..... Inferna et superna nobis dicuntur, qui, certa corporis circumscriptione conclusi intra regionis praescriptae nobis terminos continemur. Deo autem, qui ubique est et nusquam deest, quid infernum est, aut quid supernum? Veruntamen in assumtione

διαστήματι. μεθ' ἧς αὐτὸς καὶ εἰς ᾅδου καταβέβηκε, καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν, ὡς ὁ Κορυφαῖος, καὶ θεῖος ἔφησε Πέτρος, πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξε τὴν Ἀνάστασιν, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ ἀπολύτρωσιν ἐχαρίσατο· ἀφθαρσίας δὲ ἡμῖν ἀπαρχὴ γέγονεν, ἐν ᾧ πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνεβίωσεν. (*Catechesis Hiera*, Nikolas Boulgaris, p. 110.)

FOURTH ARTICLE.

And was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered, and was buried.

PARAPHRASE.

"I believe Him to have been crucified not in the substance in which He ever shines with the Father, although it is said that the Lord of glory was crucified by way of satisfaction, but in our nature according to which He assumed our earthly mould and became a curse for us, that He might declare us to be partakers of the Blessing with Himself. And He deigned to suffer the death of evil doers according to the flesh, that He might condemn in His flesh sin, the sting of death, and might bring to nought him who hath the power of death, that is the devil. And that He kept His body delivered to the tomb uncorrupted but by no means bereft of the mysterious and ineffable union, although in the interval of three days it was separated from the reasonable and intelligent soul. And with this soul He descended into Hades, and to the spirits in keeping, as the Coryphaeus and divine S. Peter said, He went and proclaimed the Resurrection, and gave them freedom and redemption: and became to us the first-fruits of incorruptibility, inasmuch as He lived again the firstborn from the dead."

corporis etiam ista complentur. Resuscitatur caro quae deposita fuerat in sepulcro, ut adimpleretur illud quod dictum est per Prophetam, *Quia non dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.* Rediit ergo victor a mortuis, inferni spolia secum trahens. Eduxit enim eos qui tenebantur a morte, sicut et Ipse predixerat, ubi ait, *Cum exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia ad me ipsum traham.* Attestatur autem de hoc Evangelium, cum dicit, *Monumenta aperta sunt, et multa corpora dormientium sanctorum resurrexerunt, et apparuerunt multis, et ingressi sunt in sanctam civitatem,* illam sine dubio, de qua Apostolus dicit, *Quae autem sursum est Jerusalem libera est, quae est mater omnium nostrum*[f]."

"S. Peter says *that Christ having been put to death in the flesh but quickened by the spirit which dwelleth in Him, descended to preach to the spirits which were shut up in prison, who were incredulous in the days of Noah;* in which passage is also declared what work He performed in hell. But the Lord Himself declares by the prophet as of a future event, *Thou wilt not leave My soul in hell, neither wilt Thou suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption.* And this again prophetically He shews no less to have been fulfilled when He says, *Lord, Thou hast brought My soul from hell; Thou hast saved Me from them that go down into the pit.* ..... Things are said to be *inferna* and *superna* to us who, being enclosed within a certain circumscription of body, are contained within the limits of the space prescribed to us. To God, however, who is present everywhere and absent nowhere, what is *infernum* or what is *supernum?* But in the assumption of a body those relations also are fulfilled. The flesh is raised which had been laid in the sepulchre to fulfil that which was spoken by the prophet,

[f] Rufini, *Commentarius*, pp. 130, 131; Heurtley, *De Fide et Symbolo*, Oxon, 1880.



co
de
di
tu
inf
ba
ex
At
me
tor
sun
Ap
est,

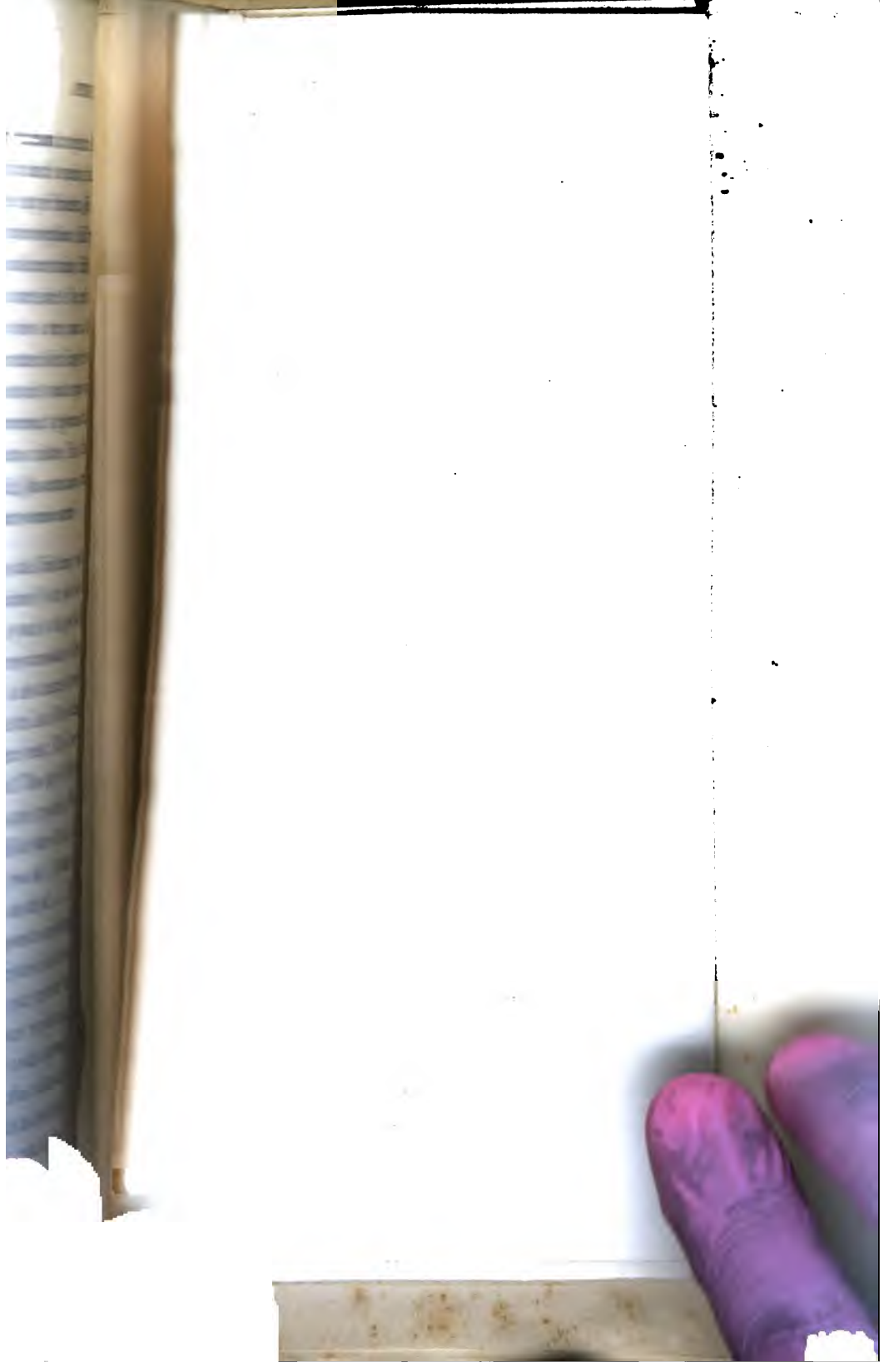
"
the
His
up
in v
forn
pro
soul
corr
less
hast
from
said
with
with
God,
nowl
in th
filled
pulcl

' F
Symb



he
in
as
w
s
t
(





he goes o
in infern
as one al
which h
seems t
that th
of dea
S. Pet
to be
ing a

"P
vifica
cere
incr
ege

an
re
th
a

have
wrought
know the
be sigh
a certa
the li
however,
where, what
the assumpt
ed. The flesh
here to fulfil

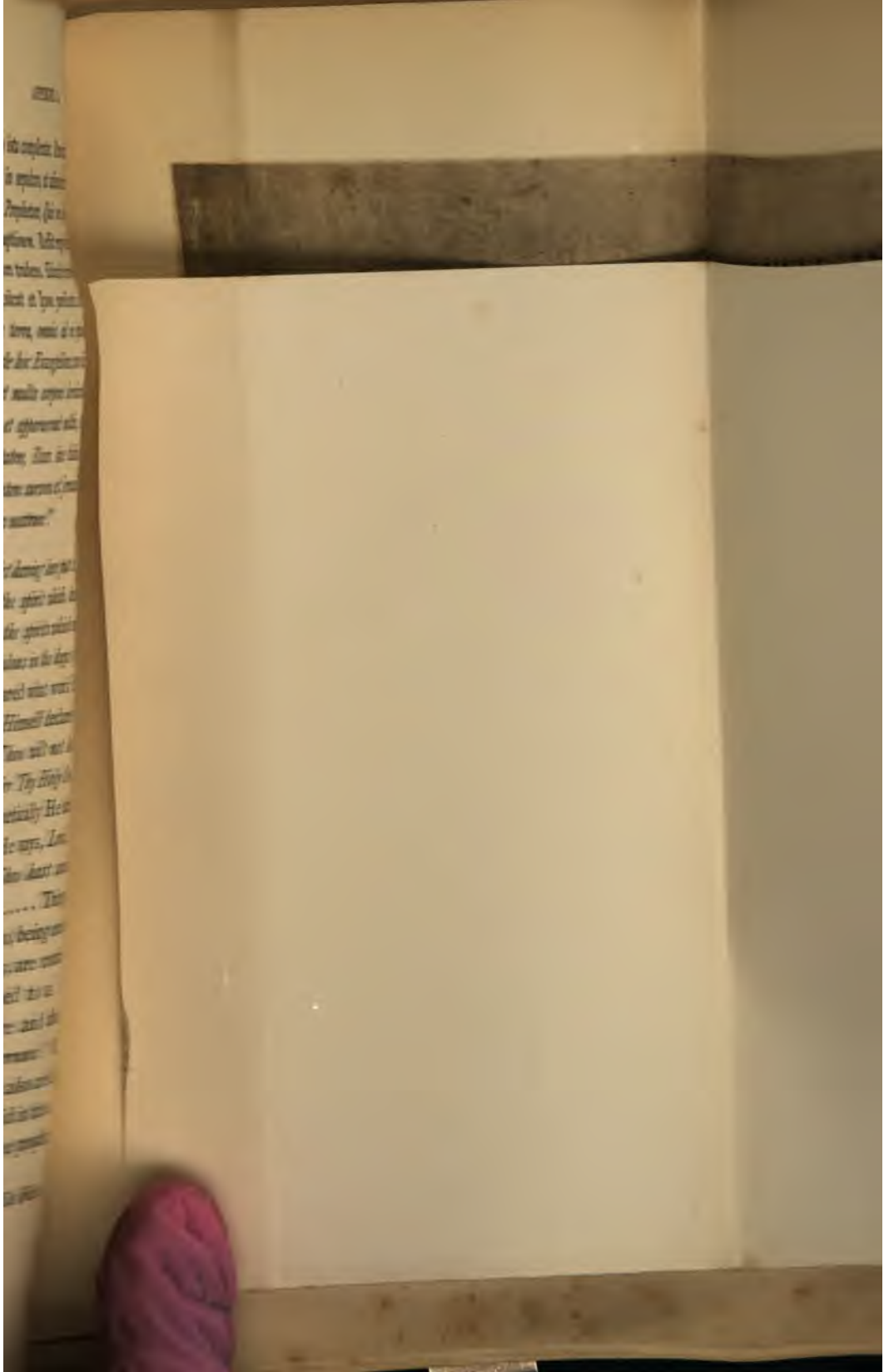
Rufini, *Com*
Oxo



corporis etiam ista complentur. Resuscitatur caro quæ deposita fuerat in sepulcro, ut adimpleretur illud quod dictum est per Prophetam, *Quia non dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.* Rediit ergo victor a mortuis, inferni spolia secum trahens. Eduxit enim eos qui tenebantur a morte, sicut et Ipse prædixerat, ubi ait, *Cum exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia ad me ipsum traham.* Attestatur autem de hoc Evangelium, cum dicit, *Monumenta aperta sunt, et multa corpora dormientium sanctorum resurrexerunt, et apparuerunt multis, et ingressi sunt in sanctam civitatem,* illam sine dubio, de qua Apostolus dicit, *Quæ autem sursum est Jerusalem libera est, quæ est mater omnium nostrum!*"

"S. Peter says *that Christ having been put to death in the flesh but quickened by the spirit which dwelleth in Him, descended to preach to the spirits which were shut up in prison, who were incredulous in the days of Noah*; in which passage is also declared what work He performed in hell. But the Lord Himself declares by the prophet as of a future event, *Thou wilt not leave My soul in hell, neither wilt Thou suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption.* And this again prophetically He shews no less to have been fulfilled when He says, *Lord, Thou hast brought My soul from hell; Thou hast saved Me from them that go down into the pit.* ..... Things are said to be *inferna* and *superna* to us who, being enclosed within a certain circumscription of body, are contained within the limits of the space prescribed to us. To God however, who is present everywhere and absent nowhere, what is *inferiorum* or what is *superiorum?* But in the assumption of a body those relations also are fulfilled. The flesh is raised which had been laid in the sepulchre to fulfil that which was spoken by the prophet,

Rufinus, *Commentarius*, pp. 130, 131; Beurley, *De Fide et Symbolo Quæst.* 1680.



he goes on to comment on the words 'descendit in infernum,' treating it not as a new clause, but as one already established. From the quotations which he alleges from the Old Testament he seems to have understood the clause to mean that the soul of Christ passed into the recesses of death, but he also alleges the passage of S. Peter, which in all ages has been understood to be the foundation of this clause. The following are his words :—

"Petrus dicit, *Quia Christus, mortificatus carne, vivificatus autem spiritu qui in ipso habitat, eis qui in carcere conclusi erant descendit spiritibus praedicare, qui increduli fuere in diebus Noe:* in quo etiam quid operis egerit in inferno declaratur[e]. Sed et ipse Dominus per

[e] The descent of Christ into the place of departed spirits, and the above interpretation of the words of S. Peter, are fully recognised in the Orthodox Greek Church, as may be seen in the following quotation from Κατήχησις ἱερα, *Sacred Catechism*, a book much esteemed in the Greek Church.

ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ ΑΡΘΡΟΝ.

Σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ταφέντα.

Παράφρασις.

Πιστεύω αὐτὸν σταυρωθῆναι, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ διαλάμπει σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ οὐσίᾳ, εἰ καὶ τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταυρῶσθαι λέγεται, τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ἀλλὰ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς γεηρᾷ φύσει, καθ' ἣν τὸ χοϊκὸν ἡμῶν ἀνέλαβε φύραμα, καὶ κατάρα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γέγονεν, ἵνα τῆς παρ' ἑαυτῷ Εὐλογίας κοινωνοὺς ἡμᾶς ἀναδείξῃ, καὶ τὸν τῶν κακούργων κατὰ τὴν σάρκα ἠνέσχετο ὑπομεῖναι θάνατον, ἵνα τοῦ θανάτου τὸ κέντρον, τὴν ἁμαρτίαν κατακρίνῃ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τουτέστι τὸν διάβολον. ταφῇ δὲ παραδοθὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ Σῶμα ἄφθαρτον διατηρήσαντα, μηδαμῶς τῆς ἀποῤῥήτου, καὶ ἀνεκφράστου διαιρεθὲν ἑνώσεως, εἰ καὶ τῆς λογικῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ νοερᾶς ψυχῆς ἐχωρίσθη ἐν τῷ τριημέρῳ



Thou wilt not suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption. He returned, therefore, a conqueror from the dead, bringing with Him the spoils of hell. He brought forth those who were held by death as He Himself had predicted where He says, *When I shall have been lifted up from the earth I will draw all things unto Myself.* Moreover the Gospel bears witness concerning this when it says, *Tombs were opened and many bodies of the saints which slept arose and appeared unto many, and entered into the holy city;* that city, without doubt, of which the Apostle says, *Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all.*"

From the above it will be seen that Rufinus, commenting on the Creed, A.D. 400, does not mention one word of the place of torment in connexion with infernus[g]. He seems to note the degradation of the word, which was then beginning and is now complete. Every Latin scholar knows that 'supernus,' *supernal, superior,* is formed from 'supra,' *above,* and 'infernus,' *infernal, inferior,* from 'infra,' *below.* Supernal in English is still a grand word, as in Milton, "By sufferance of supernal power[h]," but infernal has quite lost its derivative sense, and is only used in a bad sense to denote something connected with the place of torment. In the Vulgate it is commonly used to mean the grave, and very naturally in Christian language it came to mean the place or state of the departed. It thus became equivalent in some connexions to Paradise,

[g] The phrase seems to have been first "in infernum," sometimes "ad inferos," and lastly "ad inferna." See below, pp. 68—70.

[h] "Paradise Lost," bk. i. l. 241.

or a Heaven below. Dr. Watts says of a Christian assembly :—

> "I have been there and still would go,
> 'Tis like a little Heaven below,
> At once they sing, at once they pray,
> They hear of Heaven and learn the way."

Bishop Pearson, in commenting on everlasting life, explains very clearly that it may be initial on this side the grave, partial in Paradise, and complete after the general resurrection. The words of S. Peter in the received text of the Greek Testament are :—

Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἔπαθε, δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων, ἵνα ἡμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ Θεῷ, θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκί, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ τῷ πνεύματι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν, ἀπειθήσασί ποτε, ὅτε ἅπαξ ἐξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ μακροθυμία, ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε[1].

In speaking of this oft-quoted and variously interpreted passage, I shall select from the great commentary of Cornelius à Lapide the explanation which appears most in accordance with Rufinus, the belief of the Mediaeval Church, and the genuine derivative sense of the Greek word *φυλακὴ*. This word does not properly mean a prison, which is the fifth of the meanings given in Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, but is exactly equivalent to our English word keeping. It is obviously formed from the Greek word *φυλάσσω*, to *keep*, or *guard*. The meaning of the word is well illustrated by a passage in the Marriage Service of the Orthodox Greek Church, where

[1] 1 Pet. iii. 18—20, Gr. Test., ed. Scrivener.

the priest prays on behalf of the bride and bridegroom :—

Διαφύλαξον αὐτοὺς Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὡς διεφύλαξας τὸν Νῶε ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ. Διαφύλαξον αὐτοὺς, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὡς διεφύλαξας τὸν Ἰωνᾶν ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους. Διαφύλαξον αὐτοὺς, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὡς διεφύλαξας τοὺς ἁγίους τρεῖς Παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς, καταπέμψας αὐτοῖς δρόσον οὐρανόθεν[k].

"Preserve them, O Lord our God, as Thou preservedst Noah in the Ark. Preserve them, O Lord our God, as Thou preservedst Jonah in the belly of the whale. Preserve them, O Lord our God, as Thou preservedst the Three Holy Children from the fire, having sent to them a dew from Heaven."

Moses in earnest prayer addresses God as the "God of the spirits of all flesh :" the Psalmist says, "Into Thy Hands I commend my spirit, for Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, Thou God of truth :" Ecclesiastes says, "The dust shall return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it :" our Lord on the cross said, "Father, into Thy Hands I commend My spirit[l]." Thus we are taught that the souls of the departed are in the special keeping of Almighty God in Paradise or elsewhere.

Another of the Greek words used by S. Peter in this place seems to have been generally misunderstood, viz. *ἐκήρυξε*, which in the English version of the Bible is translated *preached.* The

[k] *Euchologion*, p. 245. Venice, 1862.

[l] Numbers xvi. 22; xxvii. 16. Cf. "Father of spirits," Heb. xii. 9; Ps. xxxi. 6; Eccles. xii. 7; S. Luke xxiii. 46.

Greek verb κηρύσσω does not necessarily mean *to preach with a view to conversion, to evangelise,* but to proclaim as a herald, the derivative κήρυξ being the usual word for a herald. The natural meaning, therefore, of the Greek text of S. Peter's words is that Christ went in His Spirit and proclaimed His victory to certain souls in God's keeping who had been disobedient at the Flood. Whether the notion was that these souls were in the enjoyment of perfect rest and peace, or were enduring some degree of purgatory and penitential discipline, appears uncertain from the description of Ludolphus Saxo, one of the most learned and devout of mediaeval writers, but he expresses a full conviction that the appearance of Christ among them brought them a fulness of joy.

"DESCENSUS CHRISTI AD INFEROS HUJUSQUE FIGURAE.

"Illa ergo hora qua Salvator noster, inclinato capite, tradidit spiritum, corpore in cruce derelicto, anima simul cum divinitate ad inferna spolianda descendit. Cum autem ad inferos descenderet, et chorus angelicus ante faciem ejus portas principum tolli praeciperet. Sanctorum populus qui tenebantur in morte captivus, voce lacrymabili clamabat:

Advenisti desiderabilis,
Quem expectamus in tenebris,
Ut educeres vinctos de claustris.
Te nostra vocabant suspiria,
Te larga requirebant lamenta.
Tu spes es effectus desperatis,
Magna consolatio in tormentis.

"Sed quis per singula dicere valeat, quanta ibi laetitia fuerit, cum Christus Sol justitiae eis apparuit; et habitantibus in regione umbrae mortis, diu novae lucis exspectata claritas radiavit? Et stetit Dominus cum eis ibi, et tunc fuerunt in gloria; nam visio Dei, perfecta est gloria. Ibidem fuit et latro, cui Dominus dixerat: *Hodie mecum eris in paradiso.* Nomine paradisi notatur ibi Dei fruitio, et visio divina, quia per acta Passione, tam ipse latro, quam alii, qui erant in limbo, viderunt Deum per essentiam. Istud quod Christus infernum introivit et Sanctos laetificavit, praefiguratam erat in tribus pueris in fornace Babylonis, ubi ad ingressum Angeli ignis versus est in suavitatem roris. Qui in fornace erant, fuerunt pueri; sic in limbo non erant nisi innocentes et puri: qui enim ante plenariam satisfactionem decedebant, in purgatorio purgabantur, et tunc ad limbum ascendebant. Istud etiam praefiguratum fuit per Danielem in lacu leonum, cui Dominus misit per Habacuc prandium. Dominus Danielem illaesum a leonibus custodivit, et per Angelum refectionem sibi misit; sic Deus Patres in limbo a daemonibus defensavit et tandem ipse veniens divina refectione eos pavit [m]."

Ludolphus goes on to explain the fourfold division of Infernus, and concludes thus :—

"Supremus locus inter haec, est limbus sanctorum Patrum, in quo fuit poena damni, et non sensus; et fuerunt ibi tenebrae exteriores et privationis gratiae

[m] Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Jesu Christi*, Secundae Partis, c. lxviii. tom. iv. pp. 167, 168. Paris, 1878. Respecting Habacuc and the Angel, see Bel and the Dragon, ver. 33—39.

"Limbus ponitur pro quadam parte inferni quatuor enim sunt loca inferni, scilicet Infernus damnatorum, Limbus puerorum, Purgatorium, et Limbus Patrum."

Jo. de Janua, apud Ducange, Art. Limbus.

divinae. Ad hunc locum Christus descendit, et suos, qui non propter reatum personae, sed propter reatum naturae detinebantur, inde liberavit; et sic infernum mormordit, quia partem ejus, abstulit, et partem reliquit."

"THE DESCENT OF CHRIST TO THOSE BELOW AND THE TYPES THEREOF.

"In that hour then in which our Saviour with bowed head gave up His spirit, His body being left on the cross, His soul together with His Divinity descended to the despoiling of hell. As however He was descending to those below, and the chorus of angels before His face bade the princely portals to be lifted up; the multitude of saints who were held captive in death cried with tearful voice,—

Thou hast come, long-desired,
Whom we await in darkness,
That Thou shouldest lead forth
The bound from their prisons.
Thee our sighs were invoking;
Thee great lamentations were seeking;
Thou art become hope to the hopeless,
A mighty consolation in afflictions.

"But who could recount in detail how great joy was there when Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, appeared to them, and the long-expected brightness of new light shone upon those who were dwelling in the region of the shadow of death? And the Lord stood with those that were there, and then were they in glory, for the sight of God is perfect glory. In that same place was also the robber, to whom the Lord had said, '*This day thou shalt be with Me in Paradise;*' by the name of Paradise is there signified the fruition of God, and the vision of Divinity, be-

cause the passion being completed, the robber himself, as well as the others who were in *limbus*, saw God as He is. That event of Christ entering hell and filling the saints with joy was prefigured by the three children in the furnace of Babylon, where at the entrance of an Angel, the fire was turned into the mildness of dew. They who were in the furnace were children; so in *limbus* there were none except the innocent and pure: for those who departed before full satisfaction were purged in purgatory, and then they ascended to *limbus*, for that was prefigured by Daniel in the lions' den, to whom the Lord sent by Habacuc a repast, the Lord kept Daniel uninjured by the lions, and sent refreshment to him by His Angel, so God guarded the Fathers in *limbus* from evil spirits, and at length coming in person fed them with divine refreshment."

Ludolphus, after explaining the fourfold division of "Infernus," concludes as follows:—

"The highest place among these is the *limbus* of the holy Fathers, in which was the penalty of loss and not the perception of it, and there was outer darkness, and the darkness of the privation of divine grace. To this place Christ descended and liberated His own, who, not on account of personal guilt but the guilt of their nature, were detained there; and thus He wounded hell, because He took away part of it and left part."

A flood of light has been thrown upon the religious notions and customs of the Middle Ages by the publication of the Utrecht Psalter in facsimile. This wonderful manuscript was brought into notice in connexion with a recent revival of the controversy respecting the age

and authority of the Athanasian Creed. Professor Westwood, of Oxford, pointed out to the disputants that the earliest known copy of that Creed is contained in the Utrecht Psalter. This manuscript was originally in the library of Sir Robert Cotton, was stolen thence, and sold to a gentleman in Holland, who presented it to the Library of Utrecht. Upon examination it was found to be so curious as to be thought worthy of reproduction in facsimile by the Autotype process, which was just about that time being elaborated by Messrs. Spencer, Sawyer, Bird, and Co., London.

The late Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, and some other antiquaries, contended that the manuscript was of a very early date, A.D. 600, or earlier, but the general consent of antiquaries and experts allowed that the date is not later than 800. The Psalms and other devotions in this manuscript are illustrated by very interesting sketches, executed apparently by an artist of genius and skill under the direction of a learned theologian. The text of the Apostles' Creed is given complete, with the clause "Descendit ad inferna."

This form of the clause appears to me to agree better with the later than with the earlier date. The phrase used by Rufinus, as noted above, p. 62, is, "Descendit in infernum," sc. "locum." "Descendit ad inferos," sc. "homines," is used by Durandus in giving the text of the Creed (see above, p. 49), and also by Ludolphus (above,

p. 68) when about to speak of the souls in *limbus*, but it is clear that before the year 800, the generally accepted date of the Utrecht Psalter, the form "Descendit ad. inferna," sc. "loca," had become established.

The illustration at the head of the Creed exhibits the arraignment of Christ before Pilate, the Crucifixion, the sepulchre, with the Angel announcing the Resurrection to the three Maries, bodies rising from their tombs, the Holy Catholic Church, the descent to hell, and the Ascension. Of these the descent to hell, represented at the lower right-hand corner, is the most important for our present purpose. Hell is represented like the mouth of a fiery furnace belching forth flames, and over it is a figure of Christ standing on a prostrate form, probably intended to represent death, and pulling two persons out of the mouth of hell. The group of persons already delivered is in charge of an Angel. With this illustration of the Apostles' Creed should be compared one prefixed to Ps. xvi., the chief features of which seem to have a very interesting reference to the burial and resurrection of our Lord. In the centre of the piece is represented the Holy Sepulchre; through an opening in the side is seen the Body of Christ; an Angel with a wand in his hand is seated on the fallen slab which closed the mouth of the sepulchre, and in front of the Angel are the three women with mournful countenances, bringing funeral spices. But the most curious point is, that whilst the Body of

Christ is represented as still in the tomb, there is in the lower left-hand corner a figure of Christ with cruciform nimbus standing upon a prostrate dead body, evidently intended to impersonate death, and stooping to lift two persons out of the grave. This seems an exact representation to the eye of the oft-recurring Greek anthem :—

Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι ζωὴν χαρισάμενος.

"Christ is risen from the dead, having by death trodden death under foot and given life to those that were in the tombs."

At the upper right-hand corner there is also a figure of Christ holding a roll in His left hand, and speaking to six winged spirits, who are bending forward with eagerness to catch His words. This I suppose to be an illustration with reference to S. Peter's words :—

Θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ τῷ πνεύματι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν[n].

The foregoing interpretation of this passage of S. Peter, which appears to me to be the only reasonable one, is favoured by Rufinus, Cornelius à Lapide, and the illustrations here adduced from the Utrecht Psalter. It implies that others besides the eight persons enclosed in the Ark were reserved for deliverance by the abounding mercy of God.

In considering the Descent into Hell it is

[n] 1 S. Pet. iii. 18, 19; Cf. Dr. Hook's Church Dict., Art. 'Hell.'

necessary to make a very wide distinction between popular legends and the deliberate statements of eminent ecclesiastics, such as Rufinus, A.D. 400, and Ludolphus, A.D. 1330. The hell of torment in the above illustration of the Apostles' Creed seems to be connected with the legend in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, which Professor Earle says, "is our earliest extant source for that prolific subject, the Harrowing of Hell[o]."

The Gospel of Nicodemus is in general a fair rendering of the Gospel narrative, with the addition of marvellous legends. It is extant in Greek, Latin, and Anglo-Saxon. The following sentence is translated from the Greek form :—

"And setting out to Paradise, He took hold of our forefather Adam by the hand, and delivered him, and all the just, to the archangel Michael[p]."

[o] "Anglo-Saxon Literature," by Prof. Earle, p. 209. London, S.P.C.K., 1884.

[p] "The Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II. The Descent into Hell. Greek Form. (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. xvi. p. 175. Edinburgh, Clark, 1870.)

The following is the corresponding passage in the Anglo-Saxon Version :—

"Se halga Dryhten waes tha Adames hand healdende, and hig Michaele tham heah engle syllende, and hym sylf was on heofenas farende, and ealle tha halgan waeron tha Michaele tham heah engle aefterfyligende, and he hig ealle ingelaedde on neorxena wang myd wuldorfulre blysse."

"*The holy Lord then held Adam's hand and gave him into the care of the Archangel Michael, and He Himself went on His way to Heaven, and all the saints then followed Michael the Archangel, and he led them all into Paradise with glorious*

In this Apocryphal Gospel, Hades, Satan, and the other chief personages are represented as uttering dramatic speeches, such as we find in Homer, Virgil, and Milton. The phrase, "Harrowing of Hell," seems to have become current from its alliteration. Harrowing here has no connexion with the agricultural instrument, a harrow, or with the process in which it is used, but is derived from an Anglo-Saxon verb 'hergian,' *vastare, populari*, literally, *to overrun with an army*[q]. A more intelligible phrase would be "despoiling of hell[r]."

In the Utrecht Psalter, which represents popular legends as well as theological truths and articles of the faith, the hell of torment frequently occurs, with little black devils scrambling about with tridents and hooks. It is remarkable that in the illustration of Psalm xv., Vulgate, xvi., English Version, clearly referring to the Descent into Hell, there is no representation of the hell of torment with flames and evil spirits.

In this case peace and blessing seem exclu-

bliss." (*Evangelium Nicodemi, Anglo-Saxonice*, cap. xxxi. p. 17, Thwaites's Heptateuch. Oxford, 1698.)

In the Anglo-Saxon poem on this subject it should be noted that 'hell-wara,' *inhabitants of hell*, does not mean evil spirits, but "Inferi," *the departed souls of good men.* Cf. Höllenfahrt Christi Grein's "Anglo-Saxon Poetry," vol. i. p. 191. Goettingen, 1857; "Resurrection and Harrowing of Hell." *Cod. Exon.*, ed. Thorpe, p. 459. London, 1842.

[q] Grein's Glossary, Art. 'Hergian,' and Prof. Skeat's Etymological Dictionary, Art. 'Harry.'

[r] Cf. "Ad inferna spolianda descendit," above, p. 68.

sively to have swayed the mind of the designer and the pen of the artist. The figure on the hill on the left-hand side is one of joy and satisfaction, holding in one hand a cup shaped like the Greek *Kantharos*, as Mr. Birch remarks, and in the other hand a coil of a measuring-rope, which is also wound round his waist and extended on the ground in front, referring to the words of the Vulgate, "Funes ceciderunt mihi in praeclaris locis," which in the Anglo-Saxon Psalter attributed to Bishop Aldhelm is paraphrased, "Thu gedydest thaet we maetan ure land mid rapum."

This psalm is considered by Bellarmine and others to be Messianic, and that these words are uttered prophetically by Christ in the prospect of the extension and future glory of His Church. As there is no appearance of a cruciform nimbus we must suppose that the artist meant to indicate David, or any of God's favoured people.

It has been suggested that the appearance of the body in the tomb merely indicates the napkin and grave-clothes left in that form, but we must remember that *nunc pro tunc*[8] was a maxim frequently acted upon by early mediaeval artists as well as by lawyers in the present day. The figures of Christ raising the dead and discoursing in Paradise are doubtless meant to represent the

[8] The phrase "nunc pro tunc," *now for then*, is explained in Blackstone's Commentaries, ed. Stephen, vol. iii. p. 642. London, 1858.

Soul or Spirit of Christ as separate from His sacred Body still in the tomb. The early mediaeval artists frequently represented souls in human form. In some early pictures of the Crucifixion evil angels are represented as fetching the soul of the impenitent thief by drawing a small human figure out of his breast. In the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, S. Luke xii. 20, the words, "This night shall thy soul be required of thee," are rendered, "On thisse nyhte hig feccath thine sawle fram the," *this night they shall fetch thy soul from thee.*

Over the gate of All Souls' College in Oxford the souls coming out of *limbus* are represented in human form. The ordinary notion of ghosts is that they bear a resemblance to their living form, like Hamlet's father, and Banquo, in Shakspere.

In this same wondrous picture of the Utrecht Psalter, the three men reclining on couches in the lower right-hand corner are clearly intended to illustrate the words, "My flesh shall rest in hope." The group on the right-hand side appearing in eager conversation is, I think, best interpreted by referring to the Gospel of Nicodemus, as in the case above noted of the Creed. An assembly of twelve persons appears to be receiving the narration of one, possibly Joseph of Arimathea. The following passage seems to illustrate this part of the picture :—

"Joseph says: And why do you wonder that Jesus has risen? But it is wonderful that He has not risen

alone, but that He has also raised many others of the dead, who have appeared in Jerusalem to many[t]."

In the rudimentary Apostles' Creed, both Greek and Latin, "Holy Church" seemed sufficient, but when the Nicene Creed had expanded the phrase into "One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church," it was natural that "Catholic" and "Communion of Saints" should be added to the corresponding ninth article of the Apostles' Creed as adopted in the West[u].

Bishop Pearson enlarges on various possible meanings of this phrase. But legitimate and edifying as these meanings may be, I think it must be allowed by all who look at the question historically, and consider the close connexion between the Apostles' and the Nicene Creed, that the original intention was much more circumscribed, declaring the privilege and happy state of Saints, i.e. faithful members of the Church, as contrasted with those outside her pale, such as heathens, infidels, heretics, and persons excommunicated for evil living. This part of the ninth article of the Apostles' Creed is supported by the following places of Holy Scripture, "Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another: and the Lord hearkened and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written be-

[t] The Gospel of Nicodemus. Part II. Descent of Christ into Hell. Greek Form, cap. i. p. 169. Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. xvi. Edinburgh, Clark, 1870.

[u] Cf. Acts ii. 42. See also above, p. 47, and Bp. Pearson's "Exposition of the Creed," ninth article.

fore Him for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon His Name [x]."

"And they continued stedfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers [y]."

[x] Malachi iii. 16.

[y] Acts ii. 42.

APPENDIX B.

GERMAN VERSION OF THE APOSTLES' CREED, EIGHTH CENTURY.

NACH EINER ST. GALLENER HANDSCHRIFT AUS DEM 8 JAHRHUNDERT.

"Kilaubu in kot fater almahticun kiscaft himiles enti erda. enti in Jesum Christ sun sinan ainacun unseran truhtin. der inphangan ist fona uuihemu keiste, kiporan fona Mariun macadi *euuikeru*, kimartrot in kiuualtiu Pilates, in cruce pislacan, tot enti picrapan, stehic in uuizzi; in drittin take erstoont fona totem, stehic in himil sizit az zesuun cotes fateres almahtikin, dhana chuumftic ist sonen qhuekhe enti tote. kilaubu in uuihan keist in uuiha khirihhun catholica, uuihero kemeinitha, urlaz suntikero, fleiskes urstodali, in liip euuikan. Amen[a]."

[a] Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, &c., p. 53. Breslau, 1877.

Wizzi clearly means punishment, but it may possibly be intended here as an equivalent to the Latin "Infernus," which was fourfold, as noted above from Ducange and Ludolphus Saxo. *Wizzi*, "locus poenarum infernalium," *Symbol. Apost.* Alemann apud Freherum. *Stehic in Wizzi*, "descendit ad inferos." Schilteri Thesaurus, *Glossarium Teutonicum.*

WIZZI, custodia, carcer, vincula. Cf. ibid.

ZESEWUN, *zesuin sines vater*, dextra patris sui. *Symb. Ap.* Alam. Ibid.

"Khirihhun." This is a very interesting transitional form of the word "Church." It is expressly recorded that Constantine the Great introduced the word κυριακον for a *church*, because νάος was then too much identified with heathenism. Compare Eusebius, *Oratio de Laudibus Constantini*, cap. xvii.

GERMAN VERSION OF THE APOSTLES' CREED, NINTH CENTURY.

NACH EINER WOLFENBÜTTELER HANDSCHRIFT AUS DEM 9 JAHRHUNDERT.

"Giláubiu in got fater almahtjgon. scepphion. himiles entj erda. Endi in hejlenton christ suno sinan. einagon truhtin unseran. Ther infanganer ist fona heilegemo geiste. giboran fona mariun. magadi. gihuuizzinot. bi pontjsgen. pilate In cruci bislagan. toot enti bigraban. Nidhar stejg ci hellju. in thritten dage arstuat. fona tóotem. Uf steig ci himilom. gísaaz ci cesuum gotes fateres almahtiges. thanan quemendi ci ardeilenne quecchē endi dóodem. gilaubiu in atum uuihan. uuiha ladhunga alljcha. heilegero gimejnidha. Abláz sundeono Fleisges arstantnissi. Lijb euuigan. Amen[b]."

ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF THE APOSTLES' CREED, *c.* A.D. 1030.

"Ic gelyfe on God, Faeder Aelmihtigne, Scyppend heofenan and eorthan; and ic gelyfe on Haelend Crist, his ancennedan Sunu, urne Drihten, se waes geacnod of tham Halgan Gaste, and acenned of Marian tham maedene, gethrowod under tham Pontiscan Pilate, on róde ahángen, he waes dead and bebyrged, and he nitherastah to helle, and hé arás of deathe on tham thriddan daege, and he astáh úp to heofenum, and sitt nu aet swithran Godes Aelmihtiges Faeder, thanon. he wyle cuman to démenne aegther ge tham cucum ge

[b] Hahn, pp. 53, 54. Ladhunga; see note on 'Gelathunge' in Anglo-Saxon version which follows.

tham deadum. And ic gelyfe on thone Halgan Gast, and tha halgan gelathunge, and halgena gemaennysse, and synna forgifennysse, and flaesces aerist, and thaet ece líf. Sy hit swa[c]."

The following is the modern German version of the Apostles' Creed, which illustrates in some degree the foregoing Anglo-Saxon and old German versions :—

"Ich glaube an Gott den Vater, allmächtigen Schöpfer Himmels und der Erde:

"Und an Jesum Christum, seinen eingebornen Sohn, unsern Herrn, Der empfangen ist vom heiligen Geiste, Geboren von der Jungfrau Maria, Gelitten unter Pontio Pilato, Gekreuziget, gestorben, und begraben, Niedergefahren zur Hölle; Am dritten Tage wieder auferstanden von den Todten, Aufgefahren gen Himmel, Sitzet zur Rechten Gottes, des allmächtigen Vaters; von dannen er kommen wird, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Todten.

[c] From a MS. (Gg 3. 28) containing the Homilies of Elfric in the University Library, Cambridge, quoted by Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, pp. 90, 91. This Creed is also printed in the "Homilies of Aelfric," ed. Thorpe, vol. ii. p. 596.

"Gelathunge." This word, from the Anglo-Saxon verb 'gelathian,' *to summon, assemble*, is no doubt intended as a translation for the Latin word "ecclesia," which is adopted from the Greek ἐκκλησία. At this date, A.D. 1030, the Anglo-Saxon word 'cyric,' *kirk*, seems to have been usually applied to the fabric, but it is also well explained as applicable to the spiritual body of believers in a homily on the dedication of a church. "Homilies of Elfric," ed. Thorpe, vol. ii. 574—594. It is a curious fact that the Romanee languages express the word "Church" by some form of ἐκκλησία, and the German, Scandinavian, and English languages by some form of the word κυριακον.

"Ich glaube an den heiligen Geist; Die heilige allgemeine christliche Kirche; Die Gemeinschaft der Heiligen; Vergebung der Sünden; Auferstehung des Fleisches, und ein ewiges Leben. Amen[d]."

Old German Versions, similar to those quoted above from Dr. Hahn, are given in *Monumenta Catechetica*, cap. iii., in Schilter's *Thesaurus*, tom. i. part ii. p. 84.

It should be noted that great stress was laid upon the Resurrection of the Flesh in the Creed of Markellus, in the fossil Greek Creed of the Psalter of King Athelstan, in the old Roman Creed, in the German versions from the earliest times to the present day, in the Anglo-Saxon versions, and in the early English versions till about A.D. 1543, when in the "Necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christen man; set furthe by the Kynges majestie of Englande," the 11th Article of the Creed first appears in the form, "The resurrection of the body." The controversy respecting the use of the word "caro" or "corpus," in connexion with the doctrine of the future resurrection, is as old as the time of S. Jerome, who, about A.D. 397, wrote very fully upon this subject to Pammachius[e]. The truth is that either expression, if rightly understood, is consistent with orthodox faith. The Church

[d] German Prayer-Book, S.P.C.K., 1856.

[e] Cf. *Op. S. Hieronymi*, Epist. xxxviii. ad Pam., tom. iv. p. 319; also Ep. xli. ad Pam. et Oceanum, p. 344, ed. Ben. Paris, 1706. See also Bp. Pearson, "On the Creed," art. xi vol. i. p. 438, and vol. ii. p. 306, notes.

of England, in the ordinary recitation of the Apostles' Creed, uses the word "body," but in the Baptismal Service the 11th Article has always stood "Resurrection of the Flesh," and to this form the Interrogative Creed in the Visitation of the Sick was expressly conformed in A.D. 1661 for the Sealed Book attached to the Act of Uniformity[f].

[f] See Facsimile of Black-letter Prayer-Book. London, Longmans, 1871.

Professor Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, pp. 83—102, gives an interesting catena of Creeds of the English Church from the ninth century inclusive to the Reformation, and, pp. 147—149, discusses the change from "flesh" to "body," quoting some portions of the passages of S. Jerome referred to in the foregoing note e, which are also partially quoted by Bishop Pearson. The word 'bodig' in Anglo-Saxon was not the usual word for *body*. 'Lic' meant *corpus*, *corpse*, from which comes 'lic-tun,' a *churchyard*, *lich-gate*, &c. The usual word for the bodily frame was 'lichama,' or 'flaeschama," cf. Bosworth's Dict., art. 'Bodig.' The devout Christian will find no difficulty in reconciling Job xix. 23—27, 1 Cor. xv. 50, and Phil. iii. 20, 21.

APPENDIX C.

TRANSLITERATED GREEK COPY OF THE NICENE CREED.

SYMBOLUM CONSTANTINOPOLITANUM, VULGO NICAENUM DICTUM.

"PISTEUGO isenan theon patiran
panto cratoran pyitin uranu ki gis oraton te panton ke aoraton ke is ena kyrrion ison christon ton ion tu theu ton monogenin. ton ek tu patros genithenta propanton ton eonon theon ek theu fos ek fotos theon alithinon ek theu alithinu genithenta upyithenta omo usion to patri diu ta panta egeneto ton dimastus anthropos kediatini meteran sotirian katelthonta ekton uranon kes sarchothenta ekpneumatos agio kemarias tis parthenu keen antropis anta staurothenta te yperimon. epi pontiu pilatu kepatonta ketafenta keanastanta titriti katatas grafas kenelthonta istus uranus ke kate zomenon en doxian tu patros kepalin erchomenon meta doxis krine zontas kenecrus utis basilias ukestelos ke is topneumaton agion. to kyrrion kezo opion to ektu patros keio ek poreugomenon ton sin patri keio sinpros kynumenon kesin sindoxa zomeno to lalisan diaton prophiton ismian agian katholikyn ke apostolicin eccelsian. Omo logo en baptisma isaphesin amartion. Pros doko anastasin necron ke zointu mellontos eonos. Amin[a]."

[a] Hickes, *Thesaurus*, p. xx. From "MS. *Latinum* Bibliothecae publicae *Cantabr. Francica* manu exaratum, et nonnullis in locis *Francicis* verbis interlineatum."

Dr. Hickes notes that the g ignorantly inserted by the transliterator in "pisteugo" and "ekporeugomenon" was not in-

tended to have a hard sound, but nearly that of consonantal y aspirated. The two words as thus erroneously written would present the sounds pistev. yho, ekporev. yhomenon.

"Keio," intended to be pronounced *kay eeo* for *καὶ ὑιοῦ*, is noteworthy as the much disputed filioque clause, the insertion of which is one of the many indications that all these Greek transliterated passages were thoroughly conformed to the Latin Church. The Greek text of the Nicene Creed as recited in Service is given above, p. 45.

The same Creed as above is given with its Latin superlineation from the Canterbury MS. now in the Public Library, Cambridge, in a paper "On the use of the Greek Language, written phonetically, in the Early Service Books of the Church in England," &c., by W. Chappell, Esq., F.S.A., read May 11, 1876, *Archaeologia*, vol. xlvi. p. 393. The MS. is doubtless continental. Mr. Walter de Gray Birch says, we may safely say that not a single example exists of a Greek manuscript transcribed in England at that period, i.e. from A.D. 700 to 1100. See Mr. Birch's Paper, read 21 June, 1871, Royal Society of Literature's Transactions, 2nd Series, vol. x. p. 326, London, Murray, 1874; compare Appendix, where the Greek passages of MS. Galba, A. xviii. are printed *in extenso*, with the probable equivalents in correct Greek.

The Nicene Creed, *c.* A.D. 1030, from the MS. of Elfric's Homilies, University Library, Cambridge, printed in Elfric's Homilies, ed. Thorpe, vol. ii. p. 596, is given by Prof. Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, p. 162, together with a later English translation, *c.* A.D. 1200, from Cod. Wigorn. Bodleian Library, Oxford. This later translation agrees exactly with the Anglo-Saxon text except in the spelling and forms of the words which are adapted to the changes which the English language had undergone by the later date. The most interesting word in the Anglo-Saxon seems to be "geflaeschamod," *clothed with flesh*, as a translation of the Latin "incarnatum," and the Greek *σαρκωθέντα*.

For other transliterated Greek copies of the Nicene Creed, see Caspari, vol. i. pp. 240, 241, 246, 247.

CHIEF AUTHORS QUOTED.

S. EPIPHANIUS was born about 320, in a small village of Palestine, of poor parents, who were Jews. He pursued the monastic life from early youth, and having imitated all the asceticism of the monks of Egypt, he afterwards received many others under his superintendence in a monastery of his own. He was learned in Hebrew, Egyptian, Syriac, Greek, and Latin, and was hence called *Πενταγλωσσος*, *Pentaglot*. About 368 he was chosen Bishop of Constantia, formerly called Salamis, a city in Cyprus. He tended his flock in a manner wellpleasing to God, and kept them unpolluted by any heresy. He died about the year 433, having lived 105 years, or, as some say, 115[a]. He wrote his *Ἀγκυρωτός*, i.e. *the Christian secured by an anchor*, *the Anchorate*, to be as it were an anchor or stay to fix unsettled minds in the true faith. But his great work appeared in 374, under the title of *Πανάριον*, *Panarium*, or *store of antidotes against all heresies*. The word belongs properly to the Latin language, and means *a bread-basket*, being formed from "panis," *bread*, and is the origin of the word "panier" in French and English. The proper Greek word is *ἀρτοφόριον*.

[a] Compare *Horologion*, 12 May. Venice, 1864.

The two editions of the works of S. Epiphanius quoted in the foregoing Treatise are, Petavius, with Latin translation, 2 vols. folio, Cologne, 1682; and Dindorf, 5 vols. 8vo. Leipsig, 1859.

EUSEBIUS, *Oratio de Laudibus Constantini*, c. xvii. p. 770, l. 35, ed. Reading. Cambridge, 1720.

EGBERT, Archbishop of York, A.D. 732—766, "Pontifical." Ed. Surtees Society, 1853.

DURANDUS, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum.* Lyons, 1672.

William Durandus was born at Puymoisson in Provence about the year 1220. His high attainments marked him out for the office of Chaplain to Pope Clement IV. He was afterwards Auditor of the Sacred Palace; and Legate to Pope Gregory X. at the Council of Lyons. He was then made Captain of the Papal forces: in which post he assisted at the reduction of several rebellious cities, and behaved with great courage. He finally became Bishop of Mende, Episcopus Mimatensis, in 1286. While in this post, and resident at Rome (for he did not personally visit his diocese till 1291, the administration of the diocese being perhaps left to a nephew of the same name, who succeeded him) he finished the *Rationale*, and deceased at Rome in 1296.

The foregoing particulars are taken from the preface to a *Translation of the First Book of the Rationale*, by Rev. J. M. Neale and Rev. B. Webb. Leeds, 1843.

LUDOLPHUS DE SAXONIA, Claruit sub Ludovico Imperatore quarto, A.D. 1330. *Vita Jesu Christi*, ed. Paris, 1878.

This is a beautiful edition in 4 vols. 8vo. In the "Monitum ad Lectores," prefixed to the first volume, are some particulars respecting the author. He was a Saxon by birth, and belonged to the order of Preachers, but after thirty years of that profession, being desirous of a severer discipline, he was transferred to the Carthusian order, and became prior in "Monasterio Argentinensi." He also wrote a commentary on the Psalms, compiled from the writings of S. Jerome, S. Augustine, Cassiodorus, and Peter Lombard, adding at the end of each Psalm a suitable prayer, as he also does at the end of each chapter of the *Vita Christi.*

Concilia Mansi. Florence, 1759.

JOHN PEARSON, D.D., died Bishop of Chester in 1666, "Exposition of the Creed," ed. Burton. Oxford, 1843.

PETER KING, Lord Chancellor of England, an able and upright judge, nephew of John Locke the philosopher, was born in 1669. Whilst serving his apprenticeship to his father, a grocer at Exeter, he secretly acquired the Greek and Latin languages by self-tuition, and so great was his proficiency that his uncle sent him to Leyden University. After leaving Leyden he entered the Middle Temple, and attained high forensic eminence. In 1705 he became a mem-

ber of Parliament, and was made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1715, and raised to the Chancellorship in 1725. But he was no less remarkable for his ecclesiastical learning than for his legal attainments, for besides a variety of controversial works of great ability, he wrote a "History of the Apostles' Creed," and "An Inquiry into the Constitution, &c., of the Primitive Church," which excited great interest, and may still be consulted with advantage. Died 1743 [b].

SCHILTER, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum.* Ulm, 1728.

"Homilies of Aelfric," ed. Benjamin Thorpe, F.S.A. London, 1846.

NIKOLAS BOULGARIS, *Catechesis Hiera.* Corfu, 1852.

G. H. FORBES, "The Ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church." Burntisland, 1855.

Euchologion. Venice, 1862.

Horologion. Venice, 1864.

MAX MÜLLER, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, "Lectures on the Science of Language," 2nd Series. London, Longmans and Co., 1864.

Dr. C. P. CASPARI, Professor of Theology in the Norwegian University, *Ungedruchte, Unbeachtete und wenig Beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel.*

[b] Maunder, "Biographical Treasury." London, Longmans and Co., 2nd ed., 1878.

Christiania, vol. i. 1866; vol. ii. 1869; vol. iii. 1875.

Alte und Neue Quellen, 1879.

CHARLES A. HEURTLEY, D.D., Margaret Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church, *Harmonia Symbolica.* Oxford, 1858.

De Fide et Symbolo, ed. Heurtley. Oxford, 1880.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L. "The History, Art, and Palaeography of the Manuscript styled the Utrecht Psalter." London, Bagster, 1876.

Dr. AUGUST HAHN, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Breslau, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche, zweite Ausgabe*, von Dr. G. Ludwig Hahn. Breslau, 1877.

J. RAWSON LUMBY, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, &c., Cambridge, "The History of the Creeds." 2nd ed. Cambridge, 1880.

F. E. WARREN, B.D., Fellow of S. John's College, Oxford, "The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church." Oxford, Clar. Press, 1881.

WALTER W. SKEAT, M.A., Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge, "Etymological Dictionary of the English Language." Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1882.

Another edition has been since published.

ISAAC TAYLOR, M.A., LL.D., "The Alphabet." London, Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co., 1883.

INDEX.

ALDHELM, taught by tutors from Athens, 4; extract respecting his Greek scholarship, 57.

Anglo-Saxons agree with Greeks in the sounds of delta and theta, vii.

Anglo-Saxon Alphabet a delusion, *ib.*

——— pronunciation meets living Greek half-way, 10.

——— script, partly Roman, partly Irish, viii.

——— *thorn* þ (*th*), derived from Greek alphabet, 25, note m.

Ankȳra, said to have derived its name from anchors of ships presented by King Ptolemy, 30; Temple of Rome and Augustus built there, afterwards converted into square-ended church, 31.

Apostles' Creed, belongs to East and West, 1; chief points in the history, 37; imparted by the early Church to "Competentes" with great care and reservation, 37, 38; reason of its disuse in the East, 49, 50; not the work of one man or of a day, 50; the unifying influence of the Popes of Rome, 51; elaborations of the Apostles' Creed in the West, Appendix A, 59.

Apostles' and Nicene Creeds identical, vi.

"Articles of Belief" illustrated by Prof. Skeat, 47, note k.

Augustine, S., on the Creed, 41; S. Augustine mentions that the Creed was not like the Lord's Prayer, recited in worship on the Lord's day, 41, 42.

Authors quoted, 88—92.

Autotype Plates I. and II., 9.

——— III. and IV., 10.

Byzantine art, 5.

Caroline Minuscules, 6.

Charlemagne, his efforts to write, 5; extract respecting his attainments, 58, 59.

Communion of Saints, 79, 80.

Contents, xiii., xiv.

Creed in the Psalter of King Athelstan scrutinised as a fossil, 22—24.

——— of Markellus and King Athelstan's Psalter compared, 20, 21; opinions of Professors Caspari, Hahn, and Schaff respecting the Creed of Markellus, 34 — 36; Creeds of Markellus and Nicaea compared, 44—47.

——— written or unwritten, necessary for catechising, 40; early tradition against writing down the Creed, 40.

Creeds, Declarative and Interrogative, 38, 39.

——— the three, belong to the whole world, 3; all three complete by A.D. 800, 52; received in the Anglo-Saxon Church, 52; a peculiar Keltic Creed, 53.

Descent into hell, Appendix A, 60—78; first occurs in connexion with the Church of Aquileia,

Christiania, vol. i. 1866; vol. ii. 1869; vol. ii 1875.

Alte und Neue Quellen, 1879.

CHARLES A. HEURTLEY, D.D., Margaret Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church. *Harmonia Symbolica*. Oxford, 1858.

De Fide et Symbolo, ed. Heurtley. Oxford 1880.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L. "The History, Art, and Palaeography of the Manuscript styled the Utrecht Psalter." London Bagster, 1876.

Dr. AUGUST HAHN, Professor der Theologie a der Universität Breslau, *Bibliothek der Symbo und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche, zweite Au gabe*, von Dr. G. Ludwig Hahn. Breslau, 1877.

J. RAWSON LUMBY, D.D., Norrisian Professo of Divinity, &c., Cambridge, "The History the Creeds." 2nd ed. Cambridge, 1880.

F. E. WARREN, B.D., Fellow of S. John College, Oxford, "The Liturgy and Ritual the Celtic Church." Oxford, Clar. Press, 1881.

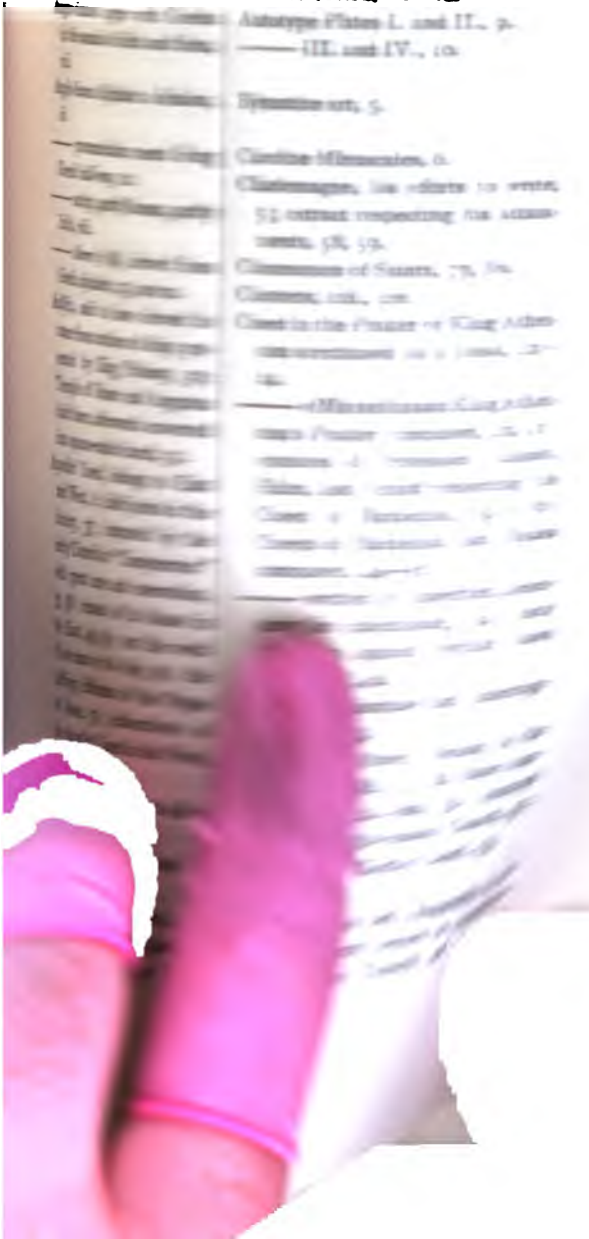
WALTER W. SKEAT, M.A., Elrington and Bo worth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the Univ sity of Cambridge, "Etymological Diction the English Language." Press, 1882.

Another editi

ISAAC T

Lond

INDEX.



c. A.D. 400, 61; commentary of Rufinus, 62; Paraphrase of 4th Article in *Catechesis Hiera* quoted, 62, note e; the words of S. Peter, 1 Pet. iii. 18, explained, 66, 67; Ludolphus Saxo on "Descensus Christi ad Inferos," 68—71; Illustrations from the Utrecht Psalter, 71—78.
Documentum est quod docet, 4.
Doxology after Lord's Prayer omitted by Latin Church, and by Church of England except in Services of Thanksgiving, 16.
Durandus, on the Creed, 48, 49.

'Ealwealda,' *all sovereign*, applied exclusively to the Supreme Being in Anglo-Saxon poetry, 23.
English easily pronounce Greek theta and present Greek delta, 24.

Frenchmen have a difficulty in pronouncing Greek theta and present Greek delta, 25.

Galatae, *Kelts*, of Galatia, connected with Gauls and other *Kelts* of the West, 30.
Galatia connected with the West, 30.
Germans have a difficulty in pronouncing Greek theta and present Greek delta, 25.
German versions of the Apostles' Creed, 81—85.
Greek studied as a living language in England, 4.
Greek the language of early Christianity even in Rome, 18, 19.
Greeks in communion with Church of Rome called "Uniats," 26.

Henry the Fowler, his valour and piety, 6.

Illustrations from MS. described, xv.—xix.
Irenaeus, S., on the uniformity of the faith, 55, 56.
Ἰωτακισμὸς, *Yotakismos*, 10.

Jerome, S., on the Creed, 41.

Latin Litany at the Consecration of a Church, 11.
Living Greek pronunciation, 10.
Lord's Prayer, in Greek letters and transliterated, 15, 16.
Ludolphus of Saxony on the three Creeds, 3.

Markellus, Bishop of Ankȳra, an earnest champion for the orthodox faith, 28; declared orthodox at Rome, A.D. 341, and at Sardica in Illyricum, A.D. 347, 29; the name Markellus as common in the Christian Church as in Roman history, 32; Alban Butler's defence of Markellus, 33; Interview of Epiphanius with Athanasius concerning Markellus, 34.
Max Müller on the English th, 25, note n.
Mediaeval Psalters, 9.
Modern Greek and living pronunciation, x.

Nicene Creed said in Greek over boys to be baptized, and in Latin over girls, 19.
——— transliterated, Appendix C, 86, 87.
——— used in Service of Baptism by Greek Church, ix.
——— Western as well as Eastern, 1; accepted by the whole Church, 43.

Old Roman Creed, 26.
Otho, religious and warlike, marries the sister of Athelstan, 7.

Παντοκράτωρ, more historic and forcible than "omnipotens," or "almighty," 22; explained by S. Cyril of Jerusalem, 22, note j.

Πιστεύω, the beginning of the Nicene Creed in recitation, 2.
Pontifical of Egbert, 11.
Prayer for Grace, 9.
Psalter of King Athelstan, German MS., vi.
——— Contents, xi.

"Rehearse" in the Catechism a good representation of "Reddite," 38.
"Resurrection of the body," first appears in English versions of the Apostles' Creed A.D. 1543, Appendix B, 84, 85.
Sozomen refrains from inserting the Creed of Nicaea in his history, lest it should come into the hands of the uninitiated, 40.

Theodore of Tarsus, 4.
Transliterated Greek Litany, 12—14.
Trisagion, 17.

Uniats, a name given to Greeks in Venice and the East who are in communion with the Church of Rome, 26.

Printed by Parker and Co., Crown Yard, Oxford.

BOOKS

PUBLISHED BY

PARKER AND CO.

OXFORD, AND 6 SOUTHAMPTON-STREET, STRAND, LONDON.

OSBORNE GORDON.

OSBORNE GORDON. A MEMOIR: With a Selection of his Writings. Edited by GEO. MARSHALL, M.A., Rector of Milton, Berks, &c. 8vo., cloth, with Medallion Portrait, 10s. 6d.

DR. PRESTON.

THE LIFE OF THE RENOWNED DR. PRESTON. Writ by his Pupil, Master THOMAS BALL, D.D., Minister of Northampton in the year 1628. Edited by E. W. HARCOURT, Esq., M.P. Crown 8vo., cloth, 4s.

SPENCER L. HOLLAND.

A SUMMARY OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS COMMISSION'S REPORT: and of Dr. STUBBS' Historical Reports; together with a Review of the Evidence before the Commission. By SPENCER L. HOLLAND, Barrister-at-Law. Post 8vo., cloth, 7s. 6d.

REV. J. DODD, M.A.

A HISTORY OF CANON LAW IN CONJUNCTION WITH OTHER BRANCHES OF JURISPRUDENCE: with Chapters on the Royal Supremacy and the Report of the Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts. By the Rev. J. DODD, M.A., formerly Rector of Hampton Poyle, Oxon. 8vo., cloth, 7s. 6d.

REV. H. DE ROMESTIN.

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων. The Greek Text with English Translation, Introduction, Notes, and Illustrative Passages. By Rev. H. DE ROMESTIN, Incumbent of Freeland, and Rural Dean. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 3s.

REV. W. D. GROUND.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE STRUCTURAL PRINCIPLES OF MR. HERBERT SPENCER'S PHILOSOPHY: Intended as a Proof that Theism is the only Theory of the Universe that can satisfy Reason. By the Rev. W. D. GROUND, Curate of Newburn, Newcastle-on-Tyne; Author of "Ecce Christianus, or Christ's Idea of the Christian Life." 368 pp. 8vo., cloth, 10s. 6d.

REV. DR. HEURTLEY.

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO: Documenta quædam nec non Aliquorum SS. Patrum Tractatus. Edidit CAROLUS A. HEURTLEY, S.T.P., Dom. Margaretæ Prælector, et Ædis Christi Canonicus. Editio Tertia, Recognita et Aucta. Crown 8vo., cloth, 4s. 6d.

REV. J. WORDSWORTH, M.A.

THE ONE RELIGION: Truth, Holiness, and Peace desired by the Nations, and revealed by Jesus Christ. EIGHT LECTURES delivered before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1881. By JOHN WORDSWORTH, M.A., Tutor of Brasenose College; Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln. 8vo., cloth, 10s. 6d.

UNIVERSITY SERMONS ON GOSPEL SUBJECTS. By the Rev. JOHN WORDSWORTH, M.A. Fcap., cloth, 2s. 6d.

REV. PROFESSOR SANDAY.

THE STUDY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT: Its Present Position, and some of its Problems. AN INAUGURAL LECTURE delivered on Feb. 20th and 22nd, 1883. By W. SANDAY, M.A., D.D., Dean Ireland's Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture. 64 pp. 8vo., in wrapper, 2s.

REV. A. H. HORE, M.A.

EIGHTEEN CENTURIES OF THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND. By the Rev. A. H. HORE, M.A., Trinity College, Oxford. 712 pp. Demy 8vo., cloth, 15s.

REV. CANON HOLE.

HINTS TO PREACHERS, WITH SERMONS AND ADDRESSES. By S. REYNOLDS HOLE, Canon of Lincoln. *Second Edition.* Post 8vo., cloth, 6s.

ARCHDEACON DENISON.

NOTES OF MY LIFE, 1805—1878. By GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON, Vicar of East Brent, 1845; Archdeacon of Taunton, 1851. *Third Edition.* 8vo., cloth, 12s.

BISHOP OF BARBADOS.

SERMONS PREACHED ON SPECIAL OCCASIONS. By JOHN MITCHINSON, late Bishop of Barbados. Crown 8vo., cloth, 5s.

THE LATE BISHOP WILBERFORCE.

SERMONS PREACHED ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS. With a Preface by the Lord Bishop of ELY. 8vo., cloth, 7s. 6d.

REV. E. F. WILLIS, M.A.

THE WORSHIP OF THE OLD COVENANT CONSIDERED MORE ESPECIALLY IN RELATION TO THAT OF THE NEW. By the Rev. E. F. WILLIS, M.A. Post 8vo., cloth, 5s.

THE LATE REV. J. KEBLE, M.A.

STUDIA SACRA. COMMENTARIES on the Introductory Verses of St. John's Gospel, and on a Portion of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; with other Theological Papers by the late Rev. JOHN KEBLE, M.A. 8vo., cl., 10s. 6d.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS AND REVIEWS. By the late Rev. JOHN KEBLE, Author of "The Christian Year." Demy 8vo., cloth extra, 12s.

LETTERS OF SPIRITUAL COUNSEL AND GUIDANCE. By the late Rev. J. KEBLE, M.A., Vicar of Hursley. Edited by R. F. WILSON, M.A., Vicar of Rownhams, &c. *Cheap Edition.* Post 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

OUTLINES OF INSTRUCTIONS OR MEDITATIONS FOR THE CHURCH'S SEASONS. By JOHN KEBLE, M.A. Edited, with a Preface, by R. F. WILSON, M.A. Second Edition. Crown 8vo., toned paper, cloth, 5s.

THE LATE BISHOP OF BRECHIN.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES. With an Epistle Dedicatory to the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D. By A. P. FORBES, D.C.L., Bishop of Brechin. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo., cloth, 12s.

A SHORT EXPLANATION OF THE NICENE CREED, for the Use of Persons beginning the Study of Theology. By ALEXANDER PENROSE FORBES, D.C.L., Bishop of Brechin. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo., cloth, 6s.

THE LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE BODY OF CHRIST. The Bampton Lectures for 1868. By GEORGE MOBERLY, D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Salisbury. *Third Edition.* Crown 8vo., cloth, 7s. 6d.

SERMONS ON THE BEATITUDES, with others mostly preached before the University of Oxford. By the same. *Third Edition.* Crown 8vo., cloth, 7s. 6d.

REV. WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D.

A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH, from the Edict of Milan, A.D. 313, to the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. *Second Edition.* Post 8vo., 10s. 6d.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE SUCCESSIVE REVISIONS OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. By JAMES PARKER, Hon. M.A. Oxon. Crown 8vo., cloth, 12s.

THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK OF EDWARD VI., COMPARED with the Successive Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer; with a Concordance and Index to the Rubrics in the several editions. By the same Author. *New Edition.* Crown 8vo., cloth, 12s.

A Cheaper Edition of THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK of the Second Year of King Edward VI. *Fifth Thousand.* 24mo., 1s. Also of SECOND PRAYER-BOOK OF EDWARD VI. Issued 1552. *Third Thousand.* 24mo., 1s.

CATENA AUREA. A Commentary on the Four Gospels, collected out of the Works of the Fathers by S. THOMAS AQUINAS. Uniform with the Library of the Fathers. Re-issue. Complete in 6 vols. 8vo., cloth, £2 2s.

THE LAST TWELVE VERSES OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO S. MARK Vindicated against Recent Critical Objectors and Established, by JOHN W. BURGON, B.D., Dean of Chichester. With Facsimiles of Codex ℵ and Codex L. 8vo., cloth, 6s.

THE EXPLANATION OF THE APOCALYPSE by VENERABLE BEDA, Translated by the Rev. EDW. MARSHALL, M.A., F.S.A., formerly Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. 180 pp. Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

A COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES AND GOSPELS IN THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. Extracted from Writings of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, anterior to the Division of the East and West. With an Introductory Notice by the DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S. In Two Vols., Crown 8vo., cloth, 10s. 6d.

THE PRINCIPLES OF DIVINE SERVICE; or, An Inquiry concerning the True Manner of Understanding and Using the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, and for the Administration of the Holy Communion in the English Church. By the late Ven. PHILIP FREEMAN, Archdeacon of Exeter. *A New Edition.* 2 vols., 8vo., cloth, 16s.

THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF THE SACRIFICE AND PARTICIPATION OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST. By GEORGE TREVOR, D.D., M.A., Canon of York; Rector of Beeford. *Second Edition, revised and enlarged.* Crown 8vo., cloth, 10s. 6d.

THE HISTORY OF CONFIRMATION. By WILLIAM JACKSON, M.A., Queen's College, Oxford; Vicar of Heathfield, Sussex. Crown 8vo., cl., 2s. 6d.

CHRISTIANITY AS TAUGHT BY S. PAUL. The Bampton Lectures for 1870. To which is added an Appendix of the Continuous Sense of S. Paul's Epistles; with Notes and Metalegomena. By the Rev. W. J. IRONS, D.D., &c. *Second Edition,* with New Preface, 8vo., with Map, cloth, 9s.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHRISTIAN MORALITY. The Bampton Lectures for 1873. By the Rev. I. GREGORY SMITH, M.A. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

APOLLOS; or, THE WAY OF GOD. A Plea for the Religion of Scripture. By A. CLEVELAND COXE, Bishop of New York. Crown 8vo., cl., 5s.

BEDE'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH NATION. A New Translation by the Rev. L. GIDLEY, M.A., Chaplain of St. Nicholas', Salisbury. Crown 8vo., cloth, 6s.

RICHARD BAXTER ON THE SACRAMENTS: Holy Orders, Holy Baptism, Confirmation, Absolution, Holy Communion. 18mo., cloth, 1s.

THE CONSTITUTIONS AND CANONS ECCLESIASTICAL OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, Referred to their Original Sources, and Illustrated with Explanatory Notes. By the late MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D., F.S.A. Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

A CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE ATHANASIAN CREED, by the Rev. D. WATERLAND, D.D. Edited by the Rev. J. R. KING, M.A. Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 5s.

THE PASTORAL RULE OF ST. GREGORY. Sancti Gregorii Papæ Regulæ Pastoralis Liber, ad Johannem Episcopum Civitatis Ravennæ. With an English Translation. By the Rev. H. R. BRAMLEY, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 6s.

THE DEFINITIONS OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH and Canons of Discipline of the first four General Councils of the Universal Church. In Greek and English. Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

S. AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS, Episcopus Hipponensis, de Catechizandis Rudibus, de Fide Rerum quæ non videntur, de Utilitate Credendi. In Usum Juniorum. Edidit C. MARRIOTT, S.T.B., Olim Coll. Oriel. Socius. *New Edition.* Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

ANALECTA CHRISTIANA, In usum Tironum. Excerpta, Epistolæ, &c., ex EUSEBII, &c.; S. IGNATII Epistolæ ad Smyrnæos et ad Polycarpum; E. S. CLEMENTIS ALEXANDRI Pædagogo excerpta; S. ATHANASII Sermo contra Gentes. Edidit et Annotationibus illustravit C. MARRIOTT, S.T.B. 8vo., 10s. 6d.

S. PATRIS NOSTRI S. ATHANASII ARCHIEPISCOPI ALEXANDRIÆ DE INCARNATIONE VERBI, ejusque Corporali ad nos Adventu. With an English Translation by the Rev. J. RIDGWAY, B.D., Hon. Canon of Christ Church. Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 5s.

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO. New Edition. See p. 1.

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. See p. 1.

OXFORD SERIES OF DEVOTIONAL WORKS.

Fcap. 8vo., printed in Red and Black, on toned paper.

The Imitation of Christ.

FOUR BOOKS. By Thomas A KEMPIS. Cloth, 4s.—Pocket Edit., 32mo., cl., 1s.

Andrewes' Devotions.

DEVOTIONS. By the Right Rev. Father in God, LAUNCELOT ANDREWES. Translated from the Greek and Latin, and arranged anew. Antique cloth, 5s.

Taylor's Holy Living.

THE RULE AND EXERCISES OF HOLY LIVING. By BISHOP JEREMY TAYLOR. Antique cloth, 4s.—Pocket Edition, 32mo., cloth, 1s.

Taylor's Holy Dying.

THE RULE AND EXERCISES OF HOLY DYING. By BISHOP JEREMY TAYLOR. Antique cloth, 4s.—Pocket Edition, 32mo., cloth, 1s.

OXFORD SERIES OF DEVOTIONAL WORKS (*continued*).

Taylor's Golden Grove.

THE GOLDEN GROVE; a Choice Manual, containing what is to be Believed, Practised, and Desired, or Prayed for. By BISHOP JEREMY TAYLOR. Printed uniform with "Holy Living and Holy Dying." Antique cloth, 3s. 6d.

Sutton's Meditations.

GODLY MEDITATIONS UPON THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER. By CHRISTOPHER SUTTON, D.D., late Prebend of Westminster. *A new Edition.* Antique cloth, 5s.

Laud's Devotions.

THE PRIVATE DEVOTIONS of DR. WILLIAM LAUD, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Martyr. Antique cloth, 5s.

Spinckes' Devotions.

TRUE CHURCH OF ENGLAND MAN'S COMPANION IN THE CLOSET; or, a complete Manual of Private Devotions, collected from the Writings of eminent Divines of the Church of England. Antique cloth, 4s.

Ancient Collects.

ANCIENT COLLECTS AND OTHER PRAYERS. Selected for Devotional use from various Rituals. By WM. BRIGHT, D.D. Antique cloth, 5s.

Devout Communicant.

THE DEVOUT COMMUNICANT exemplified in his Behaviour before, at, and after the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: Practically suited to all the Parts of that Solemn Ordinance. *7th Edition, revised.* Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 4s.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

THE PORTRAITURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTY KING CHARLES I. in his Solitudes and Sufferings. *New Edition,* with Preface by C. M. PHILLIMORE [On the evidence that the book was written by Charles I., and not by Gauden]. Antique cloth, 5s.

THE PASTOR IN HIS CLOSET; or, A Help to the Devotions of the Clergy. By JOHN ARMSTRONG, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Grahamstown. *Third Edition.* Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 2s.

PRAYERS FOR MARRIED PERSONS. From Various Sources, chiefly from the Ancient Liturgies. Selected and edited by CHARLES WARD, Rector of Maulden. *Third Edition,* with red lines on toned paper, 24mo., cloth, 4s. 6d.

——— A CHEAP EDITION, on white paper. 24mo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

DAILY STEPS TOWARDS HEAVEN; or, Practical Thoughts on the Gospel History, for every day in the year. With Titles and Character of Christ. Newly printed with antique type. 32mo., roan, gilt edges, 2s. 6d.; morocco, 5s.

——— LARGE TYPE EDITION. Square crown 8vo., cloth antique, red edges, 5s.

THE HOURS; being Prayers for the Third, Sixth, and Ninth Hours; with a Preface, and Heads of Devotion for the Day. *Seventh Edition.* 32mo., in parchment wrapper, 1s.

ANNUS DOMINI. A Prayer for each Day of the Year, founded on a Text of Holy Scripture (addressed to the Second Person in the Trinity, and therefore supplementary to other devotions). By CHRISTINA G. ROSSETTI. 32mo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

PRIVATE PRAYERS FOR A WEEK. Compiled by WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 96 pp., Fcap. 8vo., limp cloth, 1s. 6d.

DEVOTIONS BEFORE AND AFTER HOLY COMMUNION. With Prefatory Note by KEBLE. *Sixth Edition,* in red and black, on toned paper, 32mo., cloth, 2s.—With the Service, 32mo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

DEVOTIONAL (*continued*).

MEDITATIONS FOR THE FORTY DAYS OF LENT. With a Prefatory Notice by the ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN. 18mo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

THE EVERY-DAY COMPANION. By the Rev. W. H. RIDLEY, M.A., Rector of Hambleden, Bucks. Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 3s.

THOUGHTS DURING SICKNESS. By ROBERT BRETT, Author of "The Doctrine of the Cross," &c. Fcap. 8vo., limp cloth, 1s. 6d.

BREVIATES FROM HOLY SCRIPTURE, arranged for use by the Bed of Sickness. By the Rev. G. ARDEN, M.A., Rector of Winterborne-Came; Domestic Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Devon. *2nd Ed.* Fcap. 8vo., 2s.

DEVOTIONS FOR A TIME OF RETIREMENT AND PRAYER FOR THE CLERGY. *New Edition, revised.* Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 1s.

PRAYERS IN USE AT CUDDESDON COLLEGE. *Third Edition, revised and enlarged.* Fcap. 8vo., 2s.

INSTRUCTIONS ON THE HOLY EUCHARIST, AND DEVOTIONS FOR HOLY COMMUNION, being Part V. of the Clewer Manuals, by Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A., late Rector of Clewer. 18mo., cloth, 2s.

THE SERVICE-BOOK OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, arranged according to the New Table of Lessons. Crown 8vo., roan, 12s.; and in various bindings.

SERMONS, &c.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF FAITH. Eight Plain Sermons, by the late Rev. EDWARD MONRO. Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

Uniform, and by the same Author,

PLAIN SERMONS ON THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 5s.

SERMONS ON NEW TESTAMENT CHARACTERS. Fcap. 8vo., 4s.

HISTORICAL AND PRACTICAL SERMONS ON THE SUFFERINGS AND RESURRECTION OF OUR LORD. 2 vols., Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 10s.

CHRISTIAN SEASONS.—Short and Plain Sermons for every Sunday and Holyday throughout the Year. 4 vols., Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 10s.—Second Series, 4 vols., Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 10s.

SHORT SERMONS FOR FAMILY READING, following the Order of the Christian Seasons. By the Rev. J. W. BURGON, B.D. 2 vols., Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 8s.—Second Series, 2 vols., Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 8s.

PAROCHIAL SERMONS AND SERMONS FOR FASTS AND FESTIVALS. By the late Bp. ARMSTRONG. Fcap. 8vo., 5s. each volume.

SERMONS ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS. By the late Rev. J. KEBLE, M.A. 8vo., cloth, 6s.

THE AWAKING SOUL, as Sketched in the 130th Psalm. Addresses delivered in Lent, 1877. By E. R. WILBERFORCE, M.A. [the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Newcastle]. Crown 8vo., limp cloth, 2s. 6d.

OXFORD LENT SERMONS, 1857-60, 63, 65-69, 70-71. Cloth, 5s. each.

XX. SHORT ALLEGORICAL SERMONS. By B. K. W. PEARSE, M.A., and W. A. GRAY, M.A. *Sixth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo., sewed, 1s.

SERMONS AND ESSAYS ON THE APOSTOLICAL AGE. By the late Very Rev. ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D. *Third Edition, revised.* Crown 8vo., cloth, 7s. 6d.

Works of the Standard English Divines,

PUBLISHED IN THE LIBRARY OF ANGLO-CATHOLIC THEOLOGY,

AT THE FOLLOWING PRICES IN CLOTH.

ANDREWES' (BP.) COMPLETE WORKS. 11 vols., 8vo., £3 7s.
THE SERMONS. (Separate.) 5 vols., £1 15s.

BEVERIDGE'S (BP.) COMPLETE WORKS. 12 vols., 8vo., £4 4s.
THE ENGLISH THEOLOGICAL WORKS. 10 vols., £3 10s.

BRAMHALL'S (ABP.) WORKS, WITH LIFE AND LETTERS, &c. 5 vols., 8vo., £1 15s. (Vol. 2 cannot be sold separately.)

BULL'S (BP.) HARMONY ON JUSTIFICATION. 2 vols., 8vo., 10s.
———— DEFENCE OF THE NICENE CREED. 2 vols., 10s.
———— JUDGMENT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. 5s.

COSIN'S (BP.) WORKS COMPLETE. 5 vols., 8vo., £1 10s.

CRAKANTHORP'S DEFENSIO ECCLESIÆ ANGLICANÆ. 8vo., 7s.

FRANK'S SERMONS. 2 vols., 8vo., 10s.

FORBES' CONSIDERATIONES MODESTÆ. 2 vols., 8vo., 12s.

GUNNING'S PASCHAL, OR LENT FAST. 8vo., 6s.

HAMMOND'S PRACTICAL CATECHISM. 8vo., 5s.
———— MISCELLANEOUS THEOLOGICAL WORKS. 5s.
———— THIRTY-ONE SERMONS. 2 Parts. 10s.

HICKES'S TWO TREATISES ON THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD. 3 vols., 8vo., 15s.

JOHNSON'S (JOHN) THEOLOGICAL WORKS. 2 vols., 8vo., 10s.
———— ENGLISH CANONS. 2 vols., 12s.

LAUD'S (ABP.) COMPLETE WORKS. 7 vols., (9 Parts,) 8vo., £2 17s.

L'ESTRANGE'S ALLIANCE OF DIVINE OFFICES. 8vo., 6s.

MARSHALL'S PENITENTIAL DISCIPLINE. (This volume cannot be sold separate from the complete set.)

NICHOLSON'S (BP.) EXPOSITION OF THE CATECHISM. (This volume cannot be sold separate from the complete set.)

OVERALL'S (BP.) CONVOCATION-BOOK OF 1606. 8vo., 5s.

PEARSON'S (BP.) VINDICIÆ EPISTOLARUM S. IGNATII. 2 vols. 8vo., 10s.

THORNDIKE'S (HERBERT) THEOLOGICAL WORKS COMPLETE. 6 vols., (10 Parts,) 8vo., £2 10s.

WILSON'S (BP.) WORKS COMPLETE. With LIFE, by the late Rev. J. KEBLE. 7 vols., (8 Parts,) 8vo., £3 3s.

A complete set, 80 *Vols. in* 88 *Parts,* £21.

THE AUTHORIZED EDITIONS OF
THE CHRISTIAN YEAR,
With the Author's latest Corrections and Additions.

NOTICE.—Messrs. PARKER are the sole Publishers of the Editions of the "Christian Year" issued with the sanction and under the direction of the Author's representatives. All Editions without their imprint are unauthorized.

	s.	d.
SMALL 4to. EDITION. Handsomely printed on toned paper, with red border lines and initial letters. Cloth extra	10	6
DEMY 8vo. EDITION. Cloth	6	0
FOOLSCAP 8vo. EDITION. Cloth	3	6
24mo. EDITION. Cloth, red lines . . .	2	6
32mo. EDITION. Cloth boards, gilt edges .	1	6
Cloth, limp	1	0
48mo. EDITION. Cloth, limp	0	6
Roan	1	6
FACSIMILE OF THE 1st EDITION, with a list of the variations from the Original Text which the Author made in later Editions. 2 vols., 12mo., boards .	7	6

The above Editions (except the Facsimile of the First Edition) are kept in a variety of bindings, which may be ordered through the Trade, or direct from the Publishers. The chief bindings are Morocco plain, Morocco Antique, Calf Antique, and Vellum, the prices varying according to the style.

By the same Author.

LYRA INNOCENTIUM. Thoughts in Verse on Christian Children. *Thirteenth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 5s.

——————— 24mo., cloth, red lines, 3s. 6d.

——————— 48mo. edition, limp cloth, 6d.; cloth boards, 1s.

MISCELLANEOUS POEMS BY THE REV. JOHN KEBLE, M.A., Vicar of Hursley. [With Preface by G. M.] *Third Edition.* Fcap., cloth, 6s.

THE PSALTER, OR PSALMS OF DAVID: In English Verse. *Fourth Edition.* Fcap., cloth, 6s.

——————— 18mo., cloth, 1s.

The above may also be had in various bindings.

A CONCORDANCE TO THE "CHRISTIAN YEAR." Fcap. 8vo., toned paper, cloth, 4s.

MUSINGS ON THE "CHRISTIAN YEAR;" WITH GLEANINGS FROM THIRTY YEARS' INTERCOURSE WITH THE LATE Rev. J. KEBLE, by CHARLOTTE M. YONGE; to which are added Recollections of Hursley, by FRANCES M. WILBRAHAM. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 7s. 6d.

MEMOIR OF THE REV. J. KEBLE, M.A. By Sir J. T. COLERIDGE. *Fourth and Cheaper Edition.* Post 8vo., cloth, 6s.

THE CHILD'S CHRISTIAN YEAR. Hymns for every Sunday and Holyday throughout the Year. *Cheap Edition,* 18mo., cloth, 1s.

Church Poetry.

Uniform Edition of Rev. ISAAC WILLIAMS' POEMS,
32mo., cloth, each 2s. 6d.

THE CATHEDRAL; or, The Catholic and Apostolic Church in England. Also Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 5s.

THE BAPTISTERY; or, The Way of Eternal Life. Also Fcap. 8vo., with Plates by BOETIUS A BOLSWERT, cloth, 7s. 6d.

THE CHRISTIAN SCHOLAR. Also Fcap. 8vo, cloth, 5s.

HYMNS FROM THE PARISIAN BREVIARY.

THOUGHTS IN PAST YEARS.

THE SEVEN DAYS OF THE OLD AND NEW CREATION. Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

CHRISTIAN BALLADS AND POEMS. By ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE, D.D., Bishop of Western New York. *A New Edition*, in Red and Black, 24mo., cl., 2s. 6d.—Cheap Edit., 1s.—Also selected Poems in a packet, 32mo., 1s.

THE TEMPLE. Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations. By GEORGE HERBERT. *A New Edition*, in Red and Black, 24mo., cloth, 2s. 6d.—Cheap Edition, 1s.

THE BELLS OF BOTTEVILLE TOWER; A Christmas Story in Verse: and other Poems. By FREDERICK G. LEE, Author of "The Martyrs of Vienne and Lyons," "Petronilla," &c. Fcap. 8vo., with Illustrations, cloth, 4s.6d.

HYMNS ON THE LITANY, by ADA CAMBRIDGE. Fcap. 8vo., cl., 3s.

THE INNER LIFE. Hymns on the "Imitation of Christ," by THOMAS A'KEMPIS. Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 3s.

Parochial.

THE CONFIRMATION CLASS-BOOK: Notes for Lessons, with APPENDIX, containing Questions and Summaries for the Use of the Candidates. By E. M. HOLMES, LL.B. Fcap. 8vo., limp cloth, 2s. 6d.
Also, THE QUESTIONS AND SUMMARIES separate, 4 sets, 1s. each.

THE CATECHIST'S MANUAL; with an Introduction by the late SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester. By the same. *Sixth Thousand, revised.* Crown 8vo., limp cloth, 5s.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL EXERCISES, Collected and Revised from Manuscripts of Burghclere School-children, under the teaching of the Rev. W. R. BARTER, late Rector of Highclere and Burghclere; Edited by his Son-in-law, the BISHOP OF ST. ANDREW'S. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo., cloth, 5s.

A MANUAL OF PASTORAL VISITATION, intended for the Use of the Clergy in their Visitation of the Sick and Afflicted. By a PARISH PRIEST. Dedicated, by permission, to His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo., limp cloth, 3s. 6d.; roan, 4s.

SHORT READINGS FOR SUNDAY. By the Author of "Footprints in the Wilderness." With Twelve Illustrations on Wood. *Third Thousand.* Square Crown 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

FABER'S STORIES FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT. With Four Illustrations. Square Crown 8vo., cloth, 4s.

A SERIES OF WALL PICTURES illustrating the New Testament. The Set of 16 Pictures, size 22 inches by 19 inches, 12s.

COTTAGE PICTURES FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT. A Series of Twenty-eight large folio Engravings, brilliantly coloured by hand. The Set, 7s. 6d.—Also from THE NEW TESTAMENT. A Series of Twenty-eight. *Uniform.* The Set, 7s. 6d.
Upwards of 8,000 *Sets of these Cottage Pictures have been sold.*

TWELVE SACRED PRINTS FOR PAROCHIAL USE. Printed in Sepia, with Ornamental Borders. *The Set*, One Shilling; or *each*, One Penny.
Upwards of 100,000 *of these Prints have already been sold.*

JOHN HENRY PARKER, C.B., F.S.A., HON. M.A. OXON.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE. *Sixth Edition, Revised and Enlarged,* with 200 Illustrations, with a Topographical and Glossarial Index. Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 5s.

A CONCISE GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN GRECIAN, ROMAN, ITALIAN, AND GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE. *A New Edition, revised.* Fcap. 8vo., with 470 Illustrations, in ornamental cloth, 7s. 6d.

A B C OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE. *Third Edition,* with Index, square 16mo., with 200 Woodcuts, cloth, 3s.

"Architectural History can only be understood by the eyes—either by seeing the buildings themselves, or accurate representations of them arranged in chronological order:—this latter has been attempted in the present work."

AN ATTEMPT TO DISCRIMINATE THE STYLES OF ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND, from the Conquest to the Reformation; with a Sketch of the Grecian and Roman Orders. By the late THOMAS RICKMAN, F.S.A. *Seventh Edition,* with considerable Additions, chiefly Historical. 8vo., cloth, 16s.

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES, FROM THE CONQUEST TO HENRY VIII. By the late T. HUDSON TURNER and JOHN HENRY PARKER, C.B. *Second Edition.* 4 vols., 8vo., profusely Illustrated with nearly 400 Wood and Steel Engravings, full General and Topographical Indices, &c., cloth, gilt top, £3 12s.

THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF ROME.

With Plates, Plans, and Diagrams.

Part 1. PRIMITIVE FORTIFICATIONS. *Second Edition,* 8vo., with 59 Plates, cloth, 21s.

Part 2. WALLS AND GATES. *Second Edition,* 59 Plates, 8vo., cloth, 21s.

Part 3. CONSTRUCTION OF WALLS. *Second Edit., nearly ready.*

Part 4. THE EGYPTIAN OBELISKS. *Second Edition,* 8 Plates, 8vo., cloth, 5s.

Part 5. THE FORUM ROMANUM ET MAGNUM. *Second Edit.,* Revised and Enlarged, 41 Plates. 8vo., cloth, 10s. 6d.

Part 6. THE VIA SACRA, was originally published with Part 5; it is now separated, and to the New Edition is added a complete account of the EXCAVATIONS IN ROME FROM A.D. 1485 TO THE PRESENT TIME. *Second Edition,* Revised and Enlarged, 35 Plates, 8vo., cloth, 12s.

Part 7. THE COLOSSEUM. 36 Plates, 8vo. *Second Edit., in the Press.*

Part 8. THE AQUEDUCTS OF ANCIENT ROME. 21 Plates, 8vo., cloth, 15s.

Part 9. TOMBS IN AND NEAR ROME, and 10. FUNEREAL AND EARLY CHRISTIAN SCULPTURE. 39 Plates, 8vo., cloth, 15s.

Part 11. CHURCH AND ALTAR DECORATIONS AND MOSAIC PICTURES IN ROME. 20 Plates, 8vo., cloth, 10s. 6d.

Part 12. THE CATACOMBS OF ROME. 37 Plates, 8vo., cloth, 15s.

Part 13. EARLY AND MEDIÆVAL CASTLES. *Nearly ready.*

Part 14. THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCHES. *Nearly ready.*

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME, abridged from Mr. Parker's "Archæology of Rome." For Students. *Second Edition.* Post 8vo., cloth, with Plan of Rome, and 36 pp. of Illustrations, 6s.

THE ANNALS OF ENGLAND. An Epitome of English History. From Cotemporary Writers, the Rolls of Parliament, and other Public Records. A LIBRARY EDITION, revised and enlarged, with additional Woodcuts. 8vo., half-bound, 12s.

THE SCHOOL EDITION OF THE ANNALS OF ENGLAND. In Five Half-crown Parts. 1. Britons, Romans, Saxons, Normans. 2. The Plantagenets. 3. The Tudors. 4. The Stuarts. 5. The Restoration, to the Death of Queen Anne. Fcap. 8vo., cloth.

THE NEW SCHOOL-HISTORY OF ENGLAND, from Early Writers and the National Records. By the Author of "The Annals of England." Crown 8vo., with Four Maps, limp cloth, 5s.; Coloured Maps, half roan, 6s.

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH from its Foundation to the Reign of Queen Mary. By M. C. STAPLEY. *Fourth Edition, revised.* Crown 8vo., cloth boards, 5s.

POETARUM SCENICORUM GRÆCORUM, Æschyli, Sophoclis, Euripidis, et Aristophanis, Fabulæ, Superstites, et Perditarum Fragmenta. Ex recognitione GUIL. DINDORFII. *Editio Quinta.* Royal 8vo., cloth, £1 1s.

THUCYDIDES, with Notes, chiefly Historical and Geographical. By the late T. ARNOLD, D.D. With Indices by the late Rev. R. P. G. TIDDEMAN. *Eighth Edition.* 3 vols., 8vo., cloth lettered, £1 16s.

JELF'S GREEK GRAMMAR.—A Grammar of the Greek Language, chiefly from the text of Raphael Kühner. By WM. EDW. JELF, B.D. *Fifth Edition, with Additions and Corrections.* 2 vols. 8vo., £1 10s.

MADVIG'S LATIN GRAMMAR. A Latin Grammar for the Use of Schools. By Professor MADVIG, with additions by the Author. Translated by the Rev. G. WOODS, M.A. *New Edition, with an Index of Authors.* 8vo., cloth, 12s.

ERASMI COLLOQUIA SELECTA: Arranged for Translation and Re-translation; adapted for the Use of Boys who have begun the Latin Syntax. By EDWARD C. LOWE, D.D., Canon of Ely, and Provost of the College of SS. Mary and John, Lichfield. Fcap. 8vo., strong binding, 3s.

PORTA LATINA: A Selection from Latin Authors, for Translation and Re-Translation; arranged in a Progressive Course, as an Introduction to the Latin Tongue. By EDWARD C. LOWE, D.D., Editor of Erasmus' "Colloquies," &c. Fcap. 8vo., strongly bound, 3s.

A GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS OF THE HEBREW PSALTER; being an Explanatory Interpretation of Every Word contained in the Book of Psalms, intended chiefly for the Use of Beginners in the Study of Hebrew. By JOANA JULIA GRESWELL. Post 8vo., cloth. 6s.

A FIRST LOGIC BOOK, by D. P. CHASE, M.A., Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. Small 4to., sewed, 3s.

NEW AND OLD METHODS OF ETHICS, by F. Y. EDGEWORTH. 8vo. sewed, 2s.

Uniform with the Oxford Pocket Classics.

LAWS OF THE GREEK ACCENTS. By JOHN GRIFFITHS, D.D., late Warden of Wadham College, Oxford. *Sixteenth Edition.* 16mo., price 6d.

RUDIMENTARY RULES, with Examples, for the Use of Beginners in Greek Prose Composition. By Bishop MITCHINSON, D.C.L., late Head Master of the King's School, Canterbury, 16mo., sewed, 1s.

TWELVE RUDIMENTARY RULES FOR LATIN PROSE COMPOSITION: with Examples and Exercises, for the use of Beginners. By the Rev. E. MOORE, D.D., Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. *Second Edit.* 16mo., 6d.

THE ACCIDENCE OF THE GREEK VERB TAUGHT THROUGH INFLEXIONS AND ANALYSIS. By S. J. HULME, M.A., formerly Fellow and Tutor of Wadham College, Oxford; Rector of Bourton-on-the-Water Gloucestershire. 126 pp. 16mo., in wrapper, 1s.

A SERIES OF GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS
FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

GREEK POETS.

	Cloth. s.	d.		Cloth. s.	d.
Æschylus	3	0	Sophocles	3	0
Aristophanes. 2 vols.	6	0	Homeri Ilias	3	6
Euripides. 3 vols.	6	6	—— Odyssea	3	0
—— Tragœdiæ Sex	3	6			

GREEK PROSE WRITERS.

Aristotelis Ethica	2	0	Thucydides. 2 vols.	5	0
Demosthenes de Corona, et Æschines in Ctesiphontem	2	0	Xenophontis Memorabilia	1	4
Herodotus. 2 vols.	6	0	—— Anabasis	2	0

LATIN POETS.

Horatius	2	0	Lucretius	2	0
Juvenalis et Persius	1	6	Phædrus	1	4
Lucanus	2	6	Virgilius	2	6

LATIN PROSE WRITERS.

Cæsaris Commentarii, cum Supplementis Auli Hirtii et aliorum	2	6	Ciceronis Tusc. Disp. Lib. V.	2	0
—— Commentarii de Bello Gallico	1	6	Ciceronis Orationes Selectæ	3	6
—— de Bello Civili	1	6	Cornelius Nepos	1	4
Cicero De Officiis, de Senectute, et de Amicitia	2	0	Livius. 4 vols.	6	0
			Sallustius	2	0
			Tacitus. 2 vols.	5	0

TEXTS WITH SHORT NOTES.
UNIFORM WITH THE SERIES OF "OXFORD POCKET CLASSICS."

GREEK WRITERS. TEXTS AND NOTES.

SOPHOCLES.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Ajax (*Text and Notes*)	1	0	Antigone (*Text and Notes*)	1	0
Electra „	1	0	Philoctetes „	1	0
Œdipus Rex „	1	0	Trachiniæ „	1	0
Œdipus Coloneus „	1	0			

The Notes only, in one vol., cloth, 3s.

ÆSCHYLUS.

Persæ (*Text and Notes*)	1	0	Choephoræ (*Text and Notes*)	1	0
Prometheus Vinctus „	1	0	Eumenides „	1	0
Septem Contra Thebas „	1	0	Supplices „	1	0
Agamemnon „	1	0			

The Notes only, in one vol., cloth, 3s. 6d.

ARISTOPHANES.

The Knights (*Text and Notes*) 1 0 | Acharnians (*Text and Notes*) 1 0
The Birds (*Text and Notes*) 1 0

EURIPIDES.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
HECUBA (*Text and Notes*)	1	0	PHŒNISSÆ (*Text and Notes*)	1	0
MEDEA „	1	0	ALCESTIS „	1	0
ORESTES „	1	0	The above, Notes only, in one vol., cloth, 3s.		
HIPPOLYTUS „	1	0	BACCHÆ „	1	0

DEMOSTHENES.

DE CORONA (*Text and Notes*)	2	0	OLYNTHIAC ORATIONS	1	0

HOMERUS.

ILIAS, LIB. I.—VI. (*Text and Notes*)	2	0	MEMORABILIA (*Text and Notes*)	2	6

ÆSCHINES.

IN CTESIPHONTEM (*Text and Notes*)	2	0	DE ARTE POETICA (*Text and Notes*) cloth, 2s.; sewed	1	6

XENOPHON.

ARISTOTLE.

DE RE PUBLICA „ 3s. „	2	6			

LATIN WRITERS. TEXTS AND NOTES.

VIRGILIUS.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
BUCOLICA (*Text and Notes*)	1	0	ÆNEIDOS, LIB. I.—III. (*Text and Notes*)	1	0
GEORGICA „	2	0			

HORATIUS.

CARMINA, &c. (*Text and Notes*)	2	0	EPISTOLÆ ET ARS POETICA (*Text and Notes*)	1	0
SATIRÆ „	1	0			

The Notes only, in one vol., cloth, 2s.

SALLUSTIUS.

JUGURTHA (*Text and Notes*)	1	6	CATILINA (*Text and Notes*)	1	0

M. T. CICERO.

IN Q. CÆCILIUM—DIVINATIO (*Text and Notes*)	1	0	IN CATILINAM (*Text and Notes*)	1	0
IN VERREM ACTIO PRIMA „	1	0	PRO PLANCIO „ „	1	6
PRO LEGE MANILIA, et PRO ARCHIA „	1	0	PRO MILONE „ „	1	0
			PRO ROSCIO „ „	1	0
			ORATIONES PHILIPPICÆ, I., II. „	1	6

The above, Notes only, in one vol., cloth, 3s. 6d.

DE SENECTUTE et DE AMICITIA „	1	0	EPISTOLÆ SELECTÆ. Pars I. „	1	6

CÆSAR.

DE BELLO GALLICO, LIB. I.—III. (*Text and Notes*)	1	0	LIVES (*Text and Notes*)	1	6

CORNELIUS NEPOS.

PHÆDRUS.

FABULÆ (*Text and Notes*)	1	0			

LIVIUS.

LIB. XXI.—XXIV. (*Text and Notes*) sewed	4	0	THE ANNALS. *Notes only, 2 vols., 16mo., cloth*	7	0
Ditto in cloth	4	6			

TACITUS.

Portions of several other Authors are in preparation.

Uniform with the Oxford Pocket Classics.

THE LIVES OF THE MOST EMINENT ENGLISH POETS, WITH CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THEIR WORKS. By SAMUEL JOHNSON. 3 vols., 24mo., cloth, 2s. 6d. each.

THE LIVES OF DRYDEN AND POPE, with Critical Observations on their Works. By SAMUEL JOHNSON. 24mo., cloth, 1s. 6d.

THE SIX CHIEF LIVES OF THE POETS: MILTON, DRYDEN, SWIFT, ADDISON, POPE, AND GRAY. By S. JOHNSON. 24mo., cloth, 3s.

CHOICE EXTRACTS FROM MODERN FRENCH AUTHORS, for the use of Schools. 18mo., cloth, 1s.

SELECTIONS from the RECORDS of the CITY OF OXFORD, with Extracts from other Documents illustrating the Municipal History: Henry VIII. to Elizabeth [1509—1583]. Edited, by authority of the Corporation of the City of Oxford, by the late WILLIAM H. TURNER, of the Bodleian Library; under the direction of ROBERT S. HAWKINS, late Town Clerk. Royal 8vo., cloth, £1 1s.

A HANDBOOK FOR VISITORS TO OXFORD. Illustrated with numerous Woodcuts by Jewitt, and Steel Plates by Le Keux. *A New Edition.* 8vo., cloth, 12s.

THE VISITOR'S GUIDE TO OXFORD. With 110 Illustrations and a coloured Plan. Post 8vo., in ornamental wrapper, 1s.

THE OXFORD TEN-YEAR BOOK: A Complete Register of University Honours and Distinctions, made up to the end of the Year 1870. Crown 8vo., roan, 5s.

WYKEHAMICA: a History of Winchester College and Commoners, from the Foundation to the Present Day. By the Rev. H. C. ADAMS, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Post 8vo., cloth, 508 pp., with Nineteen Illustrations, 10s. 6d.

HISTORICAL TALES

Illustrating the Chief Events in Ecclesiastical History, British and Foreign.

29 Numbers at One Shilling each, limp cloth; or arranged in Six Volumes, cloth lettered, 3s. 6d. each.

ADDITIONAL VOLUMES TO THE SERIES.

ENGLAND: Mediæval Period. Containing The Orphan of Evesham, or The Jews and the Mendicant Orders.—Mark's Wedding, or Lollardy.—The White Rose of Lynden, or The Monks and the Bible.—The Prior's Ward, or The Broken Unity of the Church. By the Rev. H. C. ADAMS, Vicar of Dry Sandford; Author of "Wilton of Cuthbert's," "Schoolboy Honour," &c. With Four Illustrations on Wood. Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

THE ANDREDS-WEALD, OR THE HOUSE OF MICHELHAM: A Tale of the Norman Conquest. By the Rev. A. D. CRAKE, B.A., Fellow of the Royal Historical Society; Author of "Æmilius," "Alfgar the Dane," &c. With Four Illustrations by LOUISA TAYLOR. Fcap. 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

CHEAPER ISSUE OF TALES FOR YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN.

In Six Half-crown Vols., cloth.

Vol. I. contains F. E. PAGET's Mother and Son, Wanted a Wife, and Hobson's Choice.

Vol. II. F. E. PAGET's Windycote Hall, Squitch, Tenants at Tinkers' End.

Vol. III. W. E. HEYGATE's Two Cottages, The Sisters, and Old Jarvis's Will.

Vol. IV. W. E. HEYGATE's James Bright the Shopman, The Politician, Irrevocable.

Vol. V. R. KING's The Strike, and Jonas Clint; N. BROWN's Two to One, and False Honour.

Vol. VI. J. M. NEALE's Railway Accident; E. MONRO's The Recruit, Susan, Servants' Influence, Mary Thomas, or Dissent at Evenly; H. HAYMAN's Caroline Elton, or Vanity and Jealousy.

Each Volume is bound as a distinct and complete work, and sold separately for PRESENTS.

